

THE JERUSALEM POST

INTERNATIONAL EDITION



The roots of political violence: the issue is discussed on pages 10 and 11. On page 12 Chaim Herzog points to 'essential lessons' of the Kahan Commission report. Our regular features are in the latter half of the paper.

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Pullback hopes in Lebanon; Haddad extends rule

Lebanon and Israel were reported on Friday to have reached tentative agreement that the first stage of foreign troop withdrawals from Lebanon should begin early next month.

Government sources in Beirut said Israeli troops would pull out from Lebanon's central mountains to coastal areas south of Beirut, while Syrian and Palestinian troops would roll back from the upper mountain peaks to east Lebanon's Bekaa Valley.

The sources, who spoke on condition they would not be named, said U.S. presidential envoy Philip Habib had won the approval of the

Israeli government to the proposed first withdrawal stage.

The sources said Habib plans to go to Syria sometime this week to ascertain that President Hafez Assad would order his forces to pull back from the central Lebanese mountains simultaneously with an Israeli rollback.

However, Israel Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir was reported on Sunday to have said that he had information that the Syrians did not intend to leave Lebanon at present.

Israeli and Lebanese negotiators reportedly made progress in their talks on Friday in Netanya. The delegations met in subcommittee

for two hours and then convened briefly in full session.

Israeli delegation chief David Kimche said "definite progress was made in talks on ending the state of war and arriving at security arrangements that will safeguard Israel from terrorist attacks across its northern border."

In Washington, the State Department warned Israel last week that as the "occupying power in Southern Lebanon," it is responsible for the protection of the lives of the people there.

The warning came on Thursday as State Department spokesman John Hughes said he could not

"confirm or deny" reports that Maj. Sa'ad Haddad's Israeli-backed militia has entered Sidon in South Lebanon.

But, Hughes added, "We are concerned for the safety of the civilian population and have urged the Israeli and Lebanese authorities and others to ensure that all parties fulfill their responsibilities for protecting the lives of the inhabitants of Lebanon."

He said the dispute over whether Haddad's forces should be given authority by the Lebanese government for the maintenance of security in South Lebanon is an internal matter for the Lebanese

government.

The Lebanese Army has orders to shoot anyone, including Israelis, who contests their control of greater Beirut. Foreign Minister Elie Salem announced on Wednesday of last week, as French and Italian troops backed up the Army's takeover of the eastern half of the capital.

Salem said his government had ignored "Israeli objections" in asserting its authority throughout the capital. He explained that Israel had objected to the operation, arguing that it would change the status quo.

On the day of Salem's announcement

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APOLOGIES TO OUR READERS

Subscribers in the United States and Canada did not receive last week's issue of The Jerusalem Post International Edition. Storms in the northeastern U.S. totally disrupted airline schedules and freight handling at Kennedy Airport, and as a result the films of the International Edition rushed weekly from Jerusalem to the U.S. for printing were irreparably delayed.

We apologize to all our subscribers and readers for this inconvenience. This week's enlarged edition of 48 pages includes last week's issue, which contains extensive reports and comments on the findings of the Kahan Commission.

The increase in terror

NEWS ANALYSIS
Hirsh Goodman

Israeli military officials are not particularly perturbed by the increase in sabotage incidents directed against Israel Defence Forces objectives in Lebanon this past week.

"Obviously we are concerned about every incident, and obviously we will be doing everything to protect our men there but the number of terrorist incidents has actually dropped dramatically over the past month. There is no need for hysteria," one defence source summed it up last night.

On Tuesday of last week two Israeli soldiers were killed in an ambush near Ein Zahlatia, in the central sector and another patrol came under attack just east of Beirut.

Rav-Tural (Corporal) Rafi Reichert, 32, of Givatayim and Samal-Rishon (Sergeant-Major) Mordechai Tadmor, 29, of Ness Ziona were killed when they passed a white car parked on the side of the road with its hood up, as if it were being repaired. A man pulled out a Kalashnikov automatic rifle and fired at the Israelis.

It is not clear who is behind the latest incidents or what their motives are. The IDF is pointing a heavy finger at rejectionist elements within the PLO, who the IDF contends are infiltrating from Syrian-controlled territory. However, other defence sources believe that the perpetrators could be coming down from Tripoli, in the north, where the PLO maintains an organizational infrastructure, and that the Lebanese manning roadblocks from the area are doing a poor job of it.

As mentioned, the motive is also not clear. The spate of terror, could

be linked to the PLO's current deliberations in Algiers — a message of sorts from the radicals that the military course is the only course, regardless of what the politicians decide at the Palestine National Council. And it could be intended to heighten tension between Lebanese, American, British and Israeli forces in the area. (The French and the Italians are not in any combat zone contiguous with the IDF.)

The IDF's range of choices to protect itself is limited; good prior intelligence is difficult to come by, given the complexity of the Lebanese situation, with so many parties pulling in different directions. The Christians are split, the Palestinians are split, the Druse are split, each splinter-faction having its own allegiance, often to forces outside Lebanon.

It is also difficult to have a cohesive defence, given the tension between the IDF and the multinational and Lebanese forces. The zealous guarding of strict areas of control by each of these parties, refusing entry to IDF forces even if it is clear that the assailants passed through the lines that separate these forces, makes effective cooperation, and therefore an effective defence, impossible.

The "enemy" the IDF has to fight in Lebanon has many advantages. Beirut has many shadows, virtually assuring the terrorist of cover. Weapons and explosives are known to be hidden all over West Beirut in

(Continued on page 11.)



Jerusalemites use makeshift sledges on the slopes of Sacher Park at the weekend as abnormally cold weather hit Israel. More snow was predicted this week in the hilly regions, and flooding was forecast for low-lying areas. Widespread damage to crops was reported as temperatures in Jerusalem plunged to 0 degrees centigrade. In Tel Aviv the thermometer went down to 7, low for the city, and in Eilat to 12, the country's warmest spot. (Elharar-Scoop)

Thousands at memorials for grenade victim

Thousands of Peace Now supporters and others last week braved a driving rainstorm to attend the memorial meeting to mark the end of the traditional week of mourning for Emil Grunzweig, who was killed in a grenade attack on a Peace Now demonstration in Jerusalem on February 10.

Observers estimated that almost three times as many attended the gathering opposite the Prime Minister's office as had been present at the demonstration at which Grunzweig was killed. Hundreds of police were on hand to guard the participants, but they kept a low profile and were hardly to be seen.

The only speaker at the gathering was author Amos Oz, who said that Emil had fought on the battlefield against the enemies of Israel, but had fallen by the hands of other enemies, the enemies of freedom. Oz issued three appeals: 46 the

Palestinians, to the Israeli opponents of Peace Now, and to its adherents. He told "our Palestinian enemies" they had brought untold tragedy upon themselves by using terror.

To the opponents of Peace Now, he said: "You are tearing the nation to pieces in your quest for the inviolability of the land of Israel." And to the supporters of Peace Now he issued a call to listen to the voice of reason and moderation and not be carried away by anger.

The police, meanwhile, stepped up their questioning of suspects; both members of extreme political

groups and alleged underworld figures. They largely completed their questioning of witnesses, but have still not made any arrests.

In Tel Aviv, some 500 people gathered around the wreaths and torches that had been burning for the past seven days during the mourning vigil for Grunzweig in Kikar Malchei Yisrael. The assembly opened with a moment's silence in Grunzweig's memory.

Arye Eliaz, maverick former Sheli MK, told the assembly that those who say that Grunzweig's murderer is insane or a foreign

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A 'last chance' for the PLO

PLO leader Yasser Arafat has warned his leftist critics that the PLO could lose its grip on the 1.5 million Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza if it ignores their deep desire for a peace settlement with Israel, PLO officials reported in Algiers at the weekend.

The officials said the warning was given in a tense private meeting between Arafat and his supporters and prominent hardliners based in Syria. The meeting took place on the sidelines of the 16th session of the Palestine National Council (PNC), the PLO's parliament in exile.

Most informants, including those linked to the hardliners, said Arafat was certain of overwhelming endorsement of his quest for a "just political settlement," including peaceful coexistence between Israel and an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza.

The sources quoted Arafat as telling the hardliners that he sensed the West Bank population's "deep desire" for peace and was convinced the PLO could not afford to ignore it. "If we fail to respect the wishes of our people, how can we justify our leadership," they quoted him as saying.

The most contentious issue at the PNC session has been a headline demand, expressed by such prominent leaders as Ahmed Jibril and George Habash, for a flat rejection of peace proposals put forward by U.S. President Ronald Reagan and by a summit meeting of Arab leaders in Fez, Morocco, last September.

David Richardson writes: Public opinion in the West Bank and Gaza is apparently solidly behind a proposed federation



Deposed Gaza mayor Rashad Shawwa...an 'historic opportunity.'

with Jordan and the leadership of Arafat.

The deposed mayor of Gaza, Rashad Shawwa, has cabled the Algiers meeting urging it to seize what he says is a "historic opportunity to save what is left of our occupied land and guarantee our continued existence on it."

The results of a poll published in a popular West Bank political weekly, *Al-Bayader al-Sassi*, during the first week of February also indicate strong support for the continued dialogue with Jordan and massive backing for Arafat.

Shawwa said in his cable that "there was no alternative to moving closer and amalgamating with Jordan under a federation" and also spoke of moving closer to Egypt.

He urged that the council act quickly and, if necessary, arrive at decisions by a majority rather than the customary unanimous vote which, until now, has hamstringed Arafat and his moderate wing in the predominant Fatah movement inside the PLO.

The mayor of Bethlehem, Elias Freij, says he believes the Palestinians have only two months left to prevent the Israeli takeover of the West Bank and Gaza Strip from becoming an accomplished fact.

He appealed to PNC delegates in Algiers for decisions paving the way for new Arab-Israeli negotiations on the future of the Israeli-administered territories.

"Israeli bulldozers are roaming the width and length of the West Bank, levelling hills for Jewish settlements," he said. "More than half our land has already been expropriated and we are nearing an irreversible situation."

Freij called on the PNC to adopt "pragmatic, courageous and practical resolutions that will enable us to protect our Arab identity and protect Arab land in the West Bank and Gaza Strip."

He returned to Bethlehem recently after talks with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and King Hussein of Jordan. He said he stressed to them the urgency of the situation.

The heads of village leagues in Samaria have also called on King Hussein to join peace talks with Israel. Only in this way, they said, is it possible to protect Arab lands, and only through good neighbourly relations with Jews can the Palestinian people achieve their aims.

The secretary-general of the leagues in Judea/Samaria, Yunis al-Hantuli, said that the leagues are an instrument for achieving Arab-Jewish peace. "The time has come," he said, "to learn from Israel what democracy is."

GRENADE VICTIM

(Continued from page 1)

agent are "trying to evade the possibility that those who threw the grenade are part of our public and political body."

In Haifa, the Orunzweig family visited Emil's grave at Hof Har-carmel cemetery to mark the end of the seven-day mourning period. Scores of people attended a memorial meeting outside the Beit Rothschild community centre in Central Carmel last night.

There were also memorial meetings in Beersheba and Ashkelon.

The Israel Journalists Federation last week appealed to Prime Minister Menachem Begin to use his rhetorical skills to combat violence and "shock the public into realizing where it was leading."

Earlier in the week, President Yitzhak Navon paid a condolence visit in Haifa to the Orunzweig family.

Navon called the killing a "horrible event" and expressed the hope that it would be the last of its kind. Fringe groups on both the left and right are equally responsible for verbal and physical violence, Finance Minister Yoram Aridor said in an interview on Israel Radio over the weekend. He said he could provide examples from both sides but deliberately refrained from doing so as his contribution to calming the atmosphere.

Such meetings are held routinely and regularly in all parliamentary democracies, he said. He knew of no democratic country in which they were as rare as they are in Israel. The last such meeting was held on June 10, he said, whereas they should be held three or four times a month and should be so routine that nobody has to talk about them.

When the interviewer insisted that the grenade on the Peace Now demonstration was obviously thrown by someone from the right, Aridor said this was a dangerous conclusion when we do not yet know who perpetrated the crime. "The important thing is for neither camp to identify itself with the fringes," he said.

He said Prime Minister Menachem Begin has come out in favour of a national unity government more than once but that there was a limit to how many times Begin could make the suggestion only to have it turned down by (Shimon) Peres. "Mr. Peres made a statement ten days ago against a national unity government, and hasn't rescinded it," Aridor said.

In another radio interview, MK Abba Eban said that regular meetings between the prime



Minister Aridor... "left and right fringe groups are equally responsible."

minister and the head of the opposition would provide all the advantages expected of a national unity government without the disadvantages.

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LEBANON PULLBACK

(Continued from page 1)

ment an IDF armoured convoy forced its way through a roadblock manned by Lebanese troops east of Beirut. The incident was described by an IDF spokesman as "a misunderstanding."

Salem said that there has been no agreement with Israel on the future of Israeli-backed Maj. Sa'ad Haddad, who last week extended his area of control to nearly one-fourth of the country.

Reacting to Israeli reports that said Haddad and his men could be incorporated back into the Lebanese Army, Salem said any indication that this had been agreed is incorrect. He said the future of the Haddad forces is among issues to be resolved at the Israeli-Lebanese-U.S. talks on Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon.

Haddad, in announcing the expansion of his enclave in the south, told reporters that his men had moved into the west Bekaa Valley

town of Housh al-Qannabi, about 16 kilometres north of the Israeli border, and set up a new position. Haddad's militia staged a parade in the city of Nabatiya, 56 kilometres south of Beirut and in Sidon, 40 kilometres south of the capital, announcing the cities were now part of his "Free Lebanon."

Sharon appointment

The cabinet voted on Sunday to include former defence minister Ariel Sharon in the ministerial committee on defence. He had been a member while serving in the post, but some ministers believe he should now give up the seat. Only six ministers voted in favour, while others abstained, and Communication Minister Zippori voted against.

The opposition Shinui party says the Sharon appointment is a violation of the Kahan Commission report.

NEWS REPORT

U.S. hopes Arens will ease the strain

WASHINGTON — In a highly unusual gesture, President Ronald Reagan has invited Israel's defence minister-designate Moshe Arens to a farewell meeting this week at the White House, *The Jerusalem Post* has learned.

Administration officials last night said that Reagan hoped the meeting would help to create a more positive atmosphere in U.S.-Israel relations, which have been strained in recent weeks.

Administration officials have high expectations that the appointment of Arens to succeed Ariel Sharon as defence minister will improve U.S.-Israel ties. Thus, they said Reagan and Arens will discuss substantive issues. "This will be no courtesy call," one U.S. official said.

Arens says that he has learned "much" during his one year as Israel's ambassador in Washington, but is returning to Jerusalem to become defence minister with the same "fundamental views" regarding Israel's long-range security requirements.

Thus he sought to deflect speculation that his appointment foreshadows a new, more flexible Israeli policy.

But senior Reagan administration officials have been expressing their private assessment that the appointment of Arens will help to ac-

celerate the troop-withdrawal negotiations in Lebanon. Arens is expected to be back in Israel within a fortnight.

Begin wants Arens to take over the portfolio as quickly as possible because, say his aides, he wants to avoid the situation that followed Ezer Weizman's resignation from the Defence Ministry in 1980. At that time, Begin took over the portfolio and used to travel down to the Defence Ministry in Tel Aviv for one day a week.

Arens said on NBC's *Meet the Press* programme last week that his time in the U.S. capital had been an educative experience. "I know that there are some people who are suggesting that these 12 months in Washington have changed my point of view, have changed my thinking on matters," he said. "I guess if I were to say that they had not changed them, I would sound somewhat insensitive and maybe stupidly stubborn. I'm sure that I have learned things during the period that I have been here."

At a meeting here with Israeli reporters Arens sought to leave the impression that he is still committed to the same fundamental positions on various security-related issues that he held before coming to Washington.

Still, Arens has become much more sensitive to Israel's standing in

America. He is bound to bring that heightened concern to the inner circles of the Defence Ministry and the cabinet, probably resulting — at a minimum — in an improved "tone" in the American-Israeli dialogue.

In recent weeks, a major problem between Washington and Jerusalem has been the increased personal friction between officials, especially between Defence Secretary Weinberger and Sharon.

This type of personality clash, Israeli and U.S. officials here suggested, is now expected to end. Arens, they said, has a much better personal relationship with Weinberger and other Reagan policymakers, especially with George Shultz, Kenneth Dam and Lawrence Eagleburger at the State Department.

The Americans continue to regard Arens as a "hardliner," but as "a responsible and thinking hardliner," in the words of one U.S. official.

With Arens' departure, there was, of course, a lot of speculation here about his successor. Names circulating in the Washington diplomatic circuit include Israel's ambassador in Paris, Meir Rosenne, the chairman of the Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, Dr. Eliahu Ben Elissar, and former justice minister Shmuel Tamir.

Protest in U.K. over proposed new envoy

By HYAM CORNEY /Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON — There is a growing campaign in Britain against the mooted choice of Eliahu Lankin, a former Irgun underground commander, as Israel Ambassador here. It is being supported by politicians and other prominent figures as well as the press. The latest to join the anti-Lankin campaign is Sir Evelyn Barker, the former British commander in Palestine. Now age 87, he told the *Daily Telegraph* that "we must be bloody fools to even consider such a thing. I've never heard of such nonsense."

In an editorial on Friday, the paper commented: "Israel has a public relations image, possibly never more acute than at present. Mr. Lankin's appointment to London would inevitably kick up a dust. The spotlight would be on him in a way which could seriously hamper his effectiveness as a presenter of the face of Israel before the British public. The Israeli cabinet may therefore take the view that his appointment would be what they would term counter-productive."

Tory MP Winston Churchill, a friend of Israel, has commented that Lankin's appointment "would do a great deal of damage to the cause of Anglo-Israeli relations. It would be indelicate and insensitive in the extreme."

The *Daily Mail*, which published an editorial op-



Eliahu Lankin

posing Lankin's appointment, spoke to him and his wife Doris in South Africa. Lankin, ambassador to South Africa, said he has nothing to hide, nothing to be sorry about and would be honoured to come to London.

She commented: "Moving to London would not be a matter of life or death for us and if we were going to be made unwelcome, we would remain here or return to Israel." Expressing surprise at the remarks of Winston Churchill's grandson, she added: "My husband and I have never denied belonging to the Irgun. We are not ashamed of it."

Lankin was commander of the Irgun ship *Altalena*, which carried refugees and arms, during the War of Independence.

Violence on West Bank

A number of incidents of violence occurred in the administered territories last week, including the murder of a Negev development town resident who was visiting an Arab friend in Gaza.

Shlomo Abukasis, 42, of Netivot, was shot dead by an unknown gunman who walked into a shoe store where Abukasis, father of four, was visiting his friend.

In another incident, an Israeli was wounded in the arm by small-arms fire while driving between Beit Govrin and Hebron near the village of Tarkuniye. It was the second such ambush last week.

The 19-day-long curfew on the Dahariya refugee camp south of Hebron was lifted last week. It was imposed following a stone-throwing incident there in which an IDF welfare officer, Esther Ohana, was seriously injured. She died of her in-

juries last week. Forty-six local residents are still under arrest.

Before the curfew was lifted, 12 cars driven by Jewish settlers from Kiryat Arba were allowed into the area to protest against stone-throwing by the residents.

The council for Jewish settlements in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, and the Gush Emmunim settlement movement have set up a joint "security committee" which is to prevent attacks on settlers in the areas.

In Nabulus, security forces imposed a curfew on the old market following unrest there.

A fire bomb was hurled at an Israeli civilian bus near the village of Arabe in the Kenin district later in the week. No injuries were reported and the village has been placed under curfew.

20th soldier jailed for refusing Lebanon duty

TEL AVIV. — A reserve paratrooper officer was sentenced last week to 35 days in a military jail for refusing to serve in Lebanon for "reasons of conscience."

Segen Yishai Menuhin, 25, a Jerusalem student, is a member of "There's a Limit" movement. He is the 20th soldier to be jailed for refusing to serve in Lebanon on ideological grounds.

Carter here soon

TEL AVIV. — Former U.S. president Jimmy Carter is to visit Israel during the first week in March, according to Leon Charney, a New York Democratic Party activist who has remained close to Carter.

Charney said that Carter will come on a private visit first to Israel and then to Egypt.

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The limits of military strength

THE POPULACE is outraged at the victimization of national hero figures — Ariel Sharon, Rafael Eitan, Yehoshua Saguy, Amos Yaron. These men who have fought bravely for Israel in many wars did not, it is pointed out, have any hand in the Sabra and Shatilla massacre.

David Krivine considers moral, military and political issues arising out of the Kahan Commission report into the Beirut massacres.

They did not even collaborate. The Kahan Report is forthright about that. "We have no doubt that no plot or conspiracy was entered into between anyone (on the Israeli side) and the Phalangists with the aim of perpetrating atrocities in the camps." All the high command did was overlook certain information. They failed to realize that allowing Phalangist forces to clear the Palestinian camps of terrorists after the murder of Bushir Jemayel was likely to result in bloodshed. They misinterpreted evidence indicating that civilians were being killed. By the time they took action and removed the Phalangists from the camps on the Saturday morning, 800 Arabs had lost their lives.

The report notes that 100,000 Arabs had been slaughtered by Arabs in the Lebanon since 1975. Due to an oversight by Israeli commanders who were running a war, a revived bout of Lebanese infighting resulted in the death of another 800. Is that a reason for terminating the political career of a defence minister, a chief of staff, a chief of military intelligence? Knesset Member David Magen of Herut puts it bluntly: "There is a disproportion between the facts as reported by the committee and the conclusions it derives from those facts."

WHILE DRIVING in my car some days ago I heard on the radio part of a broadcast that seemed to emanate from a rabbi or other religious spokesman. He said that the Kahan Report had revealed something important — "a blunting of the moral sense." I presume he meant that the failure of the military to detect what went on indicated that preventing civilian casualties was not overwhelmingly urgent or a top strategic priority.

It is painful, the speaker went on, that leading — and meritorious — national figures should be penalized. But he gently reminded

his listeners that the greatest leader ever of the Jewish people, Moses the law-giver, was similarly chastised for a moral dereliction. He was denied entry into the Holy Land, to which he had brought the Children of Israel. One reason cited in the sources for this cruel ban was — he had killed an Egyptian.

An Egyptian, not a Jew. This, the speaker said, is what Jewish morality is all about. It is forbidden to do violence to any human being, for all are created in God's image. Letting violence be done by others is reprehensible likewise. The Kahan Commission quotes Deuteronomy, Chapter 21, to the effect that when a person is found slain in Israel and it is not known who smote him, the elders of the nearest city must make sacrifice, to atone for the fact that they did not prevent the crime.

THE OFFENCE condemned in the report is thus not just an intellectual error, it is a moral failure. Israel has fought hard wars in the past; it knew how to defend itself. But it always shunned hostilities; it never used war as an instrument of policy. The tragedy of the Egyptian conflicts, in Golda Meir's eyes, was not only that Jews had been killed, but that Jews had killed. What causes anguish in the land today is the sense of a decreasing concern for the sanctity of human life.

Sharon and Eitan are, first and foremost, warriors. The rules of war are obeyed, they are strict about that — but they do not go beyond that. They do not recoil from doing battle. They do not see the use of arms as a defensive measure of the last resort; they are ready to shed blood for a legitimate strategic purpose. If breathing Beirut is necessary to defeat the PLO, they will bomb Beirut. That is not a new concept in the theory of war. It is a new concept in the Jewish theory of war.

The recent censoring of the nation's moral fibre found expression

in the failure to prevent the destruction in Sabra and Shatilla. Israeli forces were nearby, Amos Yaron's forward divisional command post was 200 metres from the Shatilla camp. The killing went on for a night, a day and a night. Israeli intelligence is world famous. It knows what goes on in Iraq, in Iran, behind the Iron Curtain. It did not know what went on under its nose.

The carnage was not obvious to the onlooker, that should be said. Doctors and nurses at the Gaza hospital, located at the end of the Sabra camp, were not aware that a massacre was going on, even though a number of casualties arrived at the hospital. Also, gunfire had been coming out of the camps against the Israeli forces (this too is confirmed by the report).

The Phalangists would clearly have to do some fighting. But they did not confine themselves to fighting. They proceeded to kill for killing's sake. The Israelis should have sensed that something was going wrong, there was evidence available, albeit fragmentary. But the authorities did not bother to take it seriously. Their perceptions seemed to be clogged.



Amos Yaron... "I did badly. I admit it. I did badly."

Amos Yaron, in a testimony before the commission, said: "I did badly, I admit it. I did badly... How is it possible that a Division Commander is in the field and does not know that 200, 400, 500 or a thousand, I don't know how many, are being murdered here? If he's like that, let him go. How can such a thing be?"

"I admit here, from this rostrum, we were all insensitive, that's all."

IT IS NOT ONLY Sabra and Shatilla, though they were the worst. There has been a certain complacency towards the use of brute force for some time. Eitan's policy of harassment in the administered areas is its latest manifestation; and his method works.

But such hard-line measures are successful only in the short term. In the long term, they don't work because force alone does not solve problems. Sharon was determined to get rid of the PLO. He bombed Beirut, he made the PLO surrender and then he invaded West Beirut to mop-up the Mourabitoun.

He succeeded in all this; but he did not eradicate the PLO. It is important to acknowledge his achievement, the destruction of Arafat's military base in Lebanon. It was a splendid feat. He thought it was enough.

He was wrong, it isn't enough; the essential problem remains unsolved. The PLO continues to exist.

Force is necessary, but good sense is needed, too. Not only Israel's narrow self-interest has to be considered, the interests of the other side must also be taken into account. The enemies we are fighting must become our friends one day, or there is no hope for the future.

Our failure in Sabra and Shatilla was a double betrayal. It was a sin against Jewish law, which reproves even those with indirect responsibility for the loss of human life. It has also caused a gratuitous setback to the peace-making process by fanning the hate of the Jew in Arab hearts. That is why Sharon must leave the cabinet (not just the defence portfolio) and Eitan must leave the army.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

From the Hebrew press

Ha'aretz (Independent) writes the "Ariel Sharon has vacated the Defence Ministry — leaving behind him some 500 dead, thousands of wounded, a divided people, a decline in the moral image of the state, relations with the U.S. on the verge of explosion, and an entanglement with our neighbour to the north which has come to be called, with justification, 'the curse of Lebanon'."

The government and particularly the new defence minister, face a great task in "rebuilding the national consensus" and in restoring the whole system of decision-making. But the most important task of all is to get out of Lebanon, which Sharon turned into a sort of mini-Vietnam, the paper says.

Yediot Achronot (Independent) and Ma'ariv (Independent) — the nation's largest newspapers — both consider whether there are no dangers in unlimited free speech at all times. Yediot says that all democracies have the right to suspend certain civil rights in times of emergency.

In referring to a recent statement by controversial professor Yeshayahu Leibowitz, who called for terrorist action against those who threw a grenade at a Peace Now rally in Jerusalem, the paper said "Israel now is a volcano, with open calls for terror and even rebellion against the army. Everyday in which total civil war doesn't erupt may be considered a major national miracle. There is a choice, therefore, but to take the last steps at our disposal and to make some of our civil rights." The paper demands an end to demonstration "written or verbal, in the streets, gatherings, and especially in the army — until anger subsides."

Ma'ariv attacks Prof. Leibowitz's statements and urges curbs on freedom of speech. Yediot, in another editorial, warns that "demagogues have reached such proportions here that it may destroy whatever sanity remains in the country."

Ha'aretz admits that "among the limited selection of Likud leaders, Moshe Arens is the most suitable" candidate for defence minister, although his experience is that of an aircraft industry scientist and not that of a military or administration man.

The paper notes that "Prof. Arens is known as a 'hawk' in his foreign policy, and one must not be tempted to believe that during his stay in Washington he has turned into a dove. But he himself admitted that he has learned several things during his term of service as ambassador, and there is basis for hope that he will not continue the line of systematic provocation against the friendly superpower, a line which has of late been one of the characteristics of his predecessor's policy."

Yediot welcomes Israel's ambassador to the U.S. Moshe Arens's appointment as defence minister. "Arens is a man of firm stamina, entering an area not unfamiliar to him with a reputation as a highly intelligent man that will help him attain respect and authority in the IDF."

FOCUS

Study shows the role of heredity in heart disease

By MARGERY GREENFELD
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Several of the key risk factors for heart disease, including high blood pressure, high levels of fatty substances in the blood and smoking, are passed through heredity.

This was one of the major findings of an eight-year study conducted by the Jerusalem Centre for the Prevention of Heart and Blood Vessel Diseases, of the Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical Centre.

The results were presented by project director Dr. Yeheskiel Stein, head of Hadassah's internal medicine department B, at a press conference last week in Tel Aviv.

The study, which involved 8,500 17-year-old males and females just before their induction into the army, and 7,000 of their parents, showed that the risk factors vary among the different ethnic groups.

The researchers discovered that the same patterns of risk factors found in the parents are repeated among their children, who were born in Israel. This strongly indicates that a tendency towards the risk factors leading to heart disease is passed on from generation to generation, Stein said.

Adults of North African and Asian origin have lower blood pressure than their Israeli-born and European counterparts, and the same pattern is found among their children.

But the North African and Asian parents tend to smoke more than the Europeans, a pattern that also

repeats itself among their children.

Among the 17-year-olds surveyed, 31 per cent of the males and 19 per cent of the females smoked cigarettes regularly. On the basis of these findings, the Jerusalem Centre launched an anti-smoking campaign in the capital's high schools which has produced encouraging results over the past three years, Stein said.

One of the study's most worrisome revelations is that Israeli adults lead extremely sedentary lives. Of the group of parents over 35 years of age, 83 per cent of the men and 95 per cent of the women engage in no (or organized) physical exercise whatsoever during the entire week.

The researchers pointed out that there is very clear evidence linking a low level of physical activity with the increased occurrence of blockages in the arteries supplying blood to the heart muscle.

On the plus side, the study showed that the eating habits of most Israelis are healthier than those of Americans, with the Israeli diet containing less fat and fewer saturated fats. But the amount of cholesterol consumed by the average American and Israeli is similar.

The Jerusalem study is part of an international project sponsored by the U.S. National Institute of Health, which will allow the comparison of standardized data gathered at 11 centres throughout the world on the incidence of coronary risk factors.

'Anatoly Shcharansky can't even stand'

The wife of Soviet dissident Anatoly Shcharansky said in Rome on Friday that her husband, who was on a hunger strike for months in jail, is in such poor health that he cannot even stand.

Avital Shcharansky told reporters that her husband has been eating since January 14, although there were conflicting reports on whether he was being force fed or whether he had abandoned his hunger strike begun on September 27.

He began his fast to protest authorities' refusal to let him correspond with his family. His mother, Ida Milgrom, received a letter from him earlier this month.

"He was on hunger strike from September 27 to January 14, but he was not allowed to be hospitalized," the KGB said it was not necessary, Avital Shcharansky told reporters.

Mrs. Shcharansky, who has lived in Israel since 1978, was received by Italian President Sandro Pertini on Thursday and by Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo on Friday. She said the Italian government has agreed to press for his release.

The dissident was sentenced to 13 years in prison after conviction on charges of "spying" for the U.S. Mrs. Shcharansky said her husband wanted to emigrate to Israel.



Sephardi Chief Rabbi Ovadia Yosef meets with President Ronald Reagan in the White House oval office last Thursday. At left is Israel Ambassador Moshe Arens. (UPI telephoto)

Rabbi Yosef visits Reagan at White House

Jerusalem Post Correspondent
WASHINGTON. — Sephardi Chief Rabbi Ovadia Yosef blessed President Ronald Reagan during a meeting at the White House last week.

The rabbi was accompanied to the oval office by outgoing Ambassador Moshe Arens, who, together with Rabbi Ya'acov Pollock of the Jerusalem Institute for Talmudic Research, shared in the Hebrew-English translation

during the approximately 10-minute meeting.

Also at the meeting were the chief rabbi's wife Murgalit and their son Moshe.

Rabbi Yosef, speaking in Hebrew presented Reagan with a bible which included a personal inscription of good wishes.

Yosef emerged from the White House to tell reporters that he had thanked the president for helping Israel and for his continued

friendship. The rabbi called the president "a friendly man who loves mankind and seeks peace."

Yosef also appealed to the president to help with the problem of the Falasha Jews in Ethiopia. Yosef said he had also asked Reagan to use his influence to help those Jews unable to leave the Arab world for Israel as well as those behind the Iron Curtain. Finally, he appealed for help in winning the release of Israeli prisoners captured in Lebanon.

UK squash sweep

HERZLIYA. — Birmingham doctor Peter Verron overcame Egypt's Mussa Halal 9-2, 0-9, 9-2, 10-9 to take the men's open title in an action-packed final of the Corex International Squash championships here last week.

British players made a clean sweep of all the main honours, with Angela Smith winning the women's event against her compatriot Jayne Ashton, and Brits taking the Over 35 and Over 45 events as well. Britain's John Easter beat former South African No.1 Selwyn Machet 3-0 in the men's Over 35 final, while in the Over 45 event Ron Coope beat Lawrence Goodman of Israel.

Soccer washout

Because of the heavy rain, and high winds in some areas, only one of the eight scheduled games in the National Soccer League was played on Saturday. In this game Maccabi Haifa defeated Hapoel Lod 2-1.

Hoopsters lose key game in Madrid

Post Sports Staff
A flaming row erupted in the closing stages of Maccabi Tel Aviv's key basketball game against Real Madrid in Spain last week, and the Spaniards won 95-92, to damage the Israeli champions' chances of qualifying for the European Cup final.

With Maccabi trailing by four points, and just two minutes remaining, a highly dubious decision went against Mickey Berkowitz as he made a lay-up. The officials disallowed the basket, ruling that the ball had not yet left the Israeli star's hand before a foul was committed, and awarded him free throws instead.

The entire Maccabi contingent — players, bench and officials — stormed the judges' table. This incensed the home crowd, and missiles were hurled at the Maccabi men.

The tumult subsided only when two Maccabi players left the court. However the officials ruled a technical decision against Maccabi and instead of the free throws, proclaimed a jump ball at the centre of the court.

Maccabi tried desperately, but the four-point margin was too much.

The incident ruined a titanic battle, in which Maccabi almost broke a 15-year jinx to beat Real for the first time on its home court.

The final pool is still wide open, and Maccabi's chances of making it to the final have not been scuppered by the defeat.

Final Pool Standings									
	P	N	L	PF	PA	Pts.			
Ford Cantu	7	5	2	582	517	12			
Real Madrid	7	5	2	645	618	12			
Maccabi TA	8	4	4	704	686	12			
CSKA Moscow	8	4	4	681	672	12			
Billy Milano	7	4	3	682	672	11			
Cibona Zagreb	7	0	7	554	695	7			

Sharon says the government may now be too timid for some acts

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Post Defence Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Former defence minister Ariel Sharon said last week that the Israel Defence Forces may be too weak to tackle a combined Arab force unless it launches preemptive strikes — but that foreign pressures on Israel, bitter arguments inside the country and the Kahan Commission's report may deter the government from

ordering such attacks.

Sharon made these comments at a meeting with the senior IDF officers shortly before leaving the ministry after 18 months in office. He maintained that one concept that had guided Israel's security chiefs was that Iraq forces not be allowed to enter Jordan. "Their entry would change the balance of power," he said.

While the IDF is strong enough

to stop the Iraqis from entering Jordan, Sharon said, he is not sure the government would order such an attack.

Thus, Sharon said, the Iraqis may take up positions without Israel interference. He then went on to argue that the IDF is not powerful enough to tackle the Iraqis once they deploy in Jordan.

Sharon's theory was roundly criticised in both government and

opposition circles. "Nonsense," a Herut minister snapped. "I wasn't deterred from voting to attack the Syrian army and I will not refrain from deciding to attack the Iraqi army, if that is required," he told The Jerusalem Post.

Labour Party chairman Shimon Peres commented acidly: "What's the conclusion [from Sharon's contentions]? Send the tanks against the opposition!"

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No-confidence onslaught is rejected

An onslaught on the government against the background of the Kahan Commission's report into the Beirut refugee camp massacre failed to produce an upset last week when the coalition closed its ranks and rejected motions that the government did not merit the confidence of the Knesset.

Three no-confidence motions — proposed by the Alignment, Shinui and the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality — were defeated by 64 votes to 56, the entire Knesset complement. The three motions were voted on together.

Leading for the Alignment, former prime minister Yitzhak Rabin said that the Kahan Commission's revelations of government bungling last September gave rise to profound concern that the same thing conceivably could have happened more often during the eight months of the Lebanon war without being probed.

Rabin said that the gulf between the expectations of the government and the outcome of its decisions was never so wide as in the Lebanon campaign. He said he was making the comparison with the three wars forced upon Israel by its enemies in which Israel fired "the first shot": the Sinai Campaign, the Six Day War and the Lebanon campaign.

Rabin angrily rebuked former Defence Minister Ariel Sharon (without naming him) by scornfully rejecting Sharon's warning that approval of the Kahan report would leave a "mark of Cain" on Israel for all time. "That is baseless slander," Rabin boomed, since no Israeli was directly involved in the massacre, no conspiracy lay behind the events, and the truth had been brought to light without a cover-up. Cain, he recalled, was marked for life, because he shrugged off responsibility for killing his brother.

Rabin asked rhetorically whether the ministers who decided on the campaign had had any idea that it would last as long as it had, and be as costly as it has been.

The Kahan report stated expressly that it would relate to personal responsibility only and not deal with parliamentary responsibility, Rabin noted. Hence, it was the duty of the Knesset to take up the issue of parliamentary responsibility, even though the coalition majority against the motions of no-confidence was predictable.

The government had malfunctioned in its process of deciding to send the Phalange into the Sabra and Shatila camps, as well as in the follow-up into the effects of that decision. It had proved itself incapable of evaluating the significance of its own decisions, he said.

Listing a number of findings which "shocked and amazed" him, Rabin included:

- the failure to seek the approval of the prime minister before sending the Phalange into the camps;
- the notification of the cabinet after a delay of a day-and-a-half;
- the failure to inform the prime minister, resulting in his hearing details only much later from the BBC;
- the malfunction of cabinet decision-making on September 16, (the date the Phalange entered the camps), including the absence of any situation evaluation, although

Dry Bones



there was sufficient time for it;

Rabin said he could not fathom how the government's aim, defined as preventing the Phalange from taking vengeance against the Moslems after Bashir Jemayel's assassination, could lead to a decision to send the Phalange into the camps.

He quoted in full the testimony of Deputy Prime Minister David Levy to the commission to prove the "indifference and insensitivity" of the cabinet to his (Levy's) warnings. Rabin said that the government did not merit the confidence of the Knesset, because of its indirect responsibility for the events, as spelled out by the Kahan Commission.

Justice Minister Moshe Nissim, replying for the government in a generally low-key speech, noted that the commission had blamed the government for the actual decision to send the Phalange in, but rather for its failure to consider the implications and take the precautions required to prevent harm being done to non-combatants.

Nissim denied that the commission had ruled that there had been malfunctions in the governmental process as a whole. He said it had recommended that certain defects which occurred must be remedied, and the government, in accepting the report, had committed itself to do just that.

He said that the Ministerial Security Committee would appoint an expert or experts — as the report recommended — to study what defects there had been in the functioning of systems and suggest the appropriate remedies.

The IDF, he said, had observed stricter moral standards in all its wars than any other army in the world and had paid a heavy price for doing so.

Meir Wilner, of the Communist DFPE, said that 70,000 Palestinians and Lebanese had been killed or wounded in the campaign, in addition to the IDF's 500 dead and thousands wounded. He said the root of all evil was Israel's occupation of Arab land and its total "subservience" to a foreign power, the U.S.

"This government is destroying society and endangering the state," Wilner said.

Amnon Rubinstein (Shinui) said that even though Begin testified to the commission under oath, it had taken the unprecedented step of doubting his word regarding the crucial question of whether he should have foreseen the massacre.

Eliezer Avtobi (NRP) said the most important task was to close ranks against Israel's accusers overseas. Zvi Renner (Likud-Liberals) said the Alignment provided ammunition for slanders against the state. Imri Ron (Alignment-Mapam) said the Kahan report had lent Israel new dignity in the family of nations.

Abba Eban (Alignment-Labour) said that Sharon's 20 months in the Defence Ministry had been a nightmare.

Shlomo Lorincz (Agudat Yisrael) said the genitiles would exploit the Kahan report to malign Israel, as the Council of Tora Sages had warned.

Yitzhak Seiger (Likud-Liberals) said the report had no legal or moral basis whatsoever.

Yiguel Hurvitz (Ind.) said the countries which praised the report had shown no interest in massacres which took place in Vietnam or Algeria in previous years.

Ehud Olmert (Likud-La'am) said that in the overall balance, Sharon's important achievements in the fight against the PLO merited recognition.

Goula Cohen (Tehiya) said that the PLO treated people like Labour MK Yossi Sarid as their agents, even if they were in fact not so.

Tamar Eshel (Alignment-Labour) warned that Sharon would be a danger to democracy in whatever

post he occupied.

Nava Arad (Alignment-Labour) said the government had split the nation apart and caused hatred between brother and brother.

Aharon Abuhatzira (Tami) devoted his speech to a call for a national unity government.

In another item on the agenda, the Knesset voted on three separate motions to sum up the debate on the murder of Peace Now demonstrator Emil Grunzweig outside the Prime Minister's Office the previous week. Intermittent contacts between the coalition and the opposition failed to produce an agreed joint resolution.

Meanwhile, Prime Minister Begin, in the Knesset debate, described as "bald lies and slander" a report in *Time* magazine of an alleged meeting, shortly after the murder of Bashir Jemayel, between Sharon and the Jemayel family, in which they discussed revenge against the murderers.

Time reported that the alleged meeting, which it says took place before the Phalangists entered the camps, is described in the secret part of the Kahan Commission report.

Begin said that since the commission no longer exists and cannot issue a denial, he is doing so. He called on *Time's* editors to apologize to Sharon and the State of Israel "for disseminating this libel."

In the debate, Labour Party leader Shimon Peres contrasted Sharon's suggestion that the cabinet adopt only commission recommendations pertaining to the political level with what has actually happened: the military men faulted by the commission will pay the full price, while Sharon has given himself "a partial amnesty" he said.

But Peres demanded much more than Sharon's outright dismissal from the cabinet. He quoted from Begin's speech on the recommendations of the Agranat Commission after the Yom Kippur War.

"Will the minister of defence (Moshe Dayan) resign and the prime minister (Golda Meir) stay on?" he quoted Begin as saying then. "The supreme responsibility — the true, moral, political, and parliamentary responsibility — falls on the entire government."

Peres charged Begin with flouting the commission's recommendation by retaining Sharon in the cabinet. Deputy Agriculture Minister Michael Dekel (Likud-Herut) said that it is widely believed that the commission's recommendations were too strict. He asked how Peres can compare the blunder (mehdal) of the Yom Kippur War with Israel's indirect responsibility for the Sabra and Shatila massacre.

From the beginning, Dekel said, the Alignment intended to use the inquiry commission as a political instrument to return it to power — without bothering to go to the polls.

Deputy Foreign Minister Yehuda Ben-Meir (National Religious Party) said that the NRP does not regret its stand of last September — that the appointment of the inquiry commission was vital to the State of Israel and to the Jewish people.

Ben-Meir said that the whole nation was sickened by the murder of Emil Grunzweig. It was incumbent on us to judge ourselves and ask how things had come to such a pass.

Even before the grenade was thrown, he said, he had been

shocked and ashamed to see on television how the rabble were hurling jibes and stones at the Peace Now demonstrators. But the rabble, he said, exceeded all limits after the grenade throwing by going to Shaare Zedek Hospital and trying to prevent doctors from treating the wounded.

"It is this that constitutes the real danger to Israel, and not Arafat," Ben Meir said. "Arafat we shall overcome."

Elazar Granot (Alignment-Mapam) said that the Alignment never said that Israel was directly involved in the slaughter. "We never said that the hands were the hands of Jacob; what we said is that the voice of Jacob was not heard."

Chaim Herzog (Alignment-Labour) said that the cabinet cannot hide behind Military Intelligence. It is the cabinet's job to ask questions. He said that the prime minister should again appoint a high-ranking officer as his military attache, to keep him from making serious errors.

Yiguel Hurvitz (Likud-Telem) said he favours Sharon's remaining in the cabinet, to help it withstand U.S. pressure. He called for a national unity government on the basis of autonomy and opposition to a Palestinian state.

In a separate forum, Industry and Trade Minister Gideon Patt said last week that now that Sharon is no longer defence minister, he will have no operational role to play in political/security matters — or, for that matter, in settlement policy in the West Bank.

Patt, who was addressing *The Jerusalem Post* editorial staff last week, added that he could not imagine any future defence minister allowing a predecessor to meddle in the affairs of the ministry — "Just as I would interpose myself into the activities of my ministry."

Patt disclosed the Prime Minister Begin had refused a request by Sharon for legal confirmation of the Kahan Commission's authority.

"Begin simply told Arik, 'No, though the findings are uncomfortable, they are final and we must accept them.'"

Nor was the three-day delay in accepting the commission's recommendations a cabinet ploy, Patt insisted. "Rafael [Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan] wanted the cabinet to hear the army officers, and we had to respect that wish."

Patt had no misgivings at all about the wisdom of the Lebanon operation. About a year before the June 6 invasion, Patt recalled, he sent Begin a memo describing the flight of industry and workers from the north of Israel because of the security threat.

Patt is upset by the fact that "most people, including the Kahan Commission, are side-tracked by an accident called Sabra and Shatila and forget that Operation Peace for Galilee succeeded on many counts."

About 15,000 PLO terrorists have been ousted from Lebanon, their infrastructure has been destroyed, Yasser Arafat has been sent wandering, we have captured a large quantity of booty, the Arab world is not the same and King Hussein is now thinking of talking with us."

(Compiled from reports by Asher Wallfisch, Aryeh Rubinstein and Aaron Sittner)

NEWS REPORT

Soldiers convicted in West Bank case

By DAVID RICHARDSON
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Four soldiers, including a warrant officer, were convicted by the Central Command Military Court in Jaffa last week of beating West Bank Arab residents during unrest in the Hebron area last spring. They were sentenced to prison terms of between two and six months.

Three other defendants, among them the man who was deputy military governor of Hebron at the time, Rav-Seren (major) David Mofaz, were acquitted.

The three military judges found that certain orders issued by the battalion commander of the area at the time, Aluf Mishne (Colonel) Ya'acov Haritabi, were "blatantly illegal." He had instructed his troops to shoot indiscriminately at solar heaters, beat detainees and smash their watches.

On the other hand, the tough policies instituted by the senior command of the army, including Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan, to deal with what the court described as a period of serious unrest, were found legal by the narrow definition of the military code and the standards of public and international law. But the judges expressed reservations about Eitan's recommendations to "punish by expulsion" and to punish parents for offences committed by their children.

Eitan and OC Central Command, Aluf Ori Orr, appeared as witnesses during the trial.

The court also determined that some reserve officers associated with Peace Now, who had first levelled the charges against the accused following reserve duty in the Hebron area, had lied or given unreliable testimony.

The court cleared Mofaz and Rav-Samal-Rishon (sergeant-major) Hussein Gadir on the grounds of insufficient proof on a number of charges of beating Arab detainees or civilians they encountered while on patrol in the area. Rav-Samal-Rishon David Benzaquen was found not to have been present at the time, and was cleared absolutely.

Rav-Samal-Rishon Falah Salah, a Beduin tracker assigned to the Hebron military government, was found guilty of beating detainees in the military government compound following a riot at the local Hebron Islamic University. He was given two months' imprisonment and a 10-month suspended sentence.

Rabat (corporal) Aviv Ben-Eli was found guilty of participating in beating detainees during the same incident and was sentenced to six months' imprisonment and six months suspended sentence, and was stripped of his rank.

Turai (private) Shlomo Levi was found to have participated in a brutal attack on residents in Halhoul on April 12 last year. He was sentenced to five months' imprisonment and seven months suspended.

A fourth soldier, Samal-Rishon Baruch Meir, has yet to be sentenced.

The court recounted the Halhoul incident at length, noting that those primarily alleged to have been responsible were Border Policemen in civilian clothes. They are said to have forced residents of the town to strike each other, crawl around and bark like dogs, count the stars, denounce Arafat and Palestine, laud the Border Police and Prime Minister Menachem Begin, and learn to sing *Hatikva*.

The Hebron military governor, Sgan-Aluf Shalom Lugassi, was said to have been present at the time. The police appointed a special officer to investigate the accusations against the Border Policemen at Halhoul, but no charges have been brought.

In a long section of the judgement devoted to an analysis of the army's policy regarding unrest in the West Bank, the court stressed that last spring was a period of serious unrest in the area, and that the soldiers serving there were under great pressure.

"The lives and well-being of IDF soldiers cannot be treated lightly," the judges wrote. It added: "The local population must know that they assume risks when they generate tension in the area. One cannot demand that IDF soldiers behave with kid gloves when they are being stoned."

But the court stressed that the response must fit the gravity of the situation the soldiers confront, and "must at all times be within the law."

Unity coalition proposal 'not realistic now'

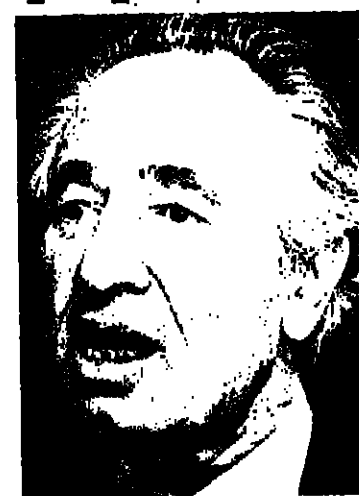
By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — A Likud-Alignment coalition is "not a realistic or practical option at this time," Labour Party chairman Shimon Peres said last week after a flurry of unofficial contacts and consultations on the question.

Peres decided not to make the first move, and instead to "wait for (Prime Minister Menachem) Begin's telephone call."

Begin, meanwhile, devoted himself yesterday to his new duties as caretaker defence minister. His aides said that the subject of a "national unity government" did not figure in his agenda. They continued to maintain that the premier will "not again debate himself by appealing to the Alignment to join his coalition. He has done this three times before, and will not invite a fourth rebuff. The loud chorus of opposition from Labour is hardly an incentive for him to make a move."

When Peres met with kibbutz representatives on the Labour Central committee yesterday afternoon, it was already clear that he would not summon party forums for any re-vote on the resolution opposing a national unity government.



Labour's Shimon Peres

Such a move, Peres told the gathering during the meeting of over three hours, would be tantamount to a Labour initiative, while it is up to Begin to make the first move.

Peres added that a national-unity government is an idea whose time has not yet come, and there is no point in even considering it.

But others in Labour continued to report rumours that the affair was a trial balloon floated by Peres and his rival, former prime minister

Yitzhak Rabin, both of whom might be seeking high government posts to cement their leadership of the party. They need such a boost, the theory goes, after again being frustrated in attempts to bring the government down, and in anticipation of a possible challenge for the party leadership from Yitzhak Navon after he ends his presidential term.

Though sources close to Peres continued to deny these reports, Labour insiders spoke of an attempt by Peres yesterday to convince leading colleagues to convene party forums and rescind an earlier decision against any political partnership with the Likud. Begin has demanded that this be done before he could even consider the formation of a national-unity government. Labour has ruled out the idea, and Labour must remove the taboo, it is said in Begin's office.

Peres and Rabin thought, some Labour sources conjectured, that if both advocated entering a Begin government, they might muster a majority in the party central committee. But early feelers ran into such vehement opposition that the initiative died a quick death.

(See Editorial Comment.)

Begin tells Europeans they damaged peace prospects

Post Knesset Correspondent

Prime Minister Menachem Begin told a visiting delegation of the European Parliament last week that the Parliament's resolution of January 11 favouring a Palestinian state has done "great damage to the prospects of peace."

A Palestinian state would "wipe Israel off the map," Begin told the 10 European parliamentarians, who are headed by Tove Nielsen of Denmark.

When the Knesset session opened, Speaker Menachem Savidor told the 10 parliamentarians, who were seated in the VIP gallery, that the January 11 resolution goes counter to the vital interests of Israel's existence.

Nielsen told a press conference that the European Parliament has "majestically rejected unconditional recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization."

Begin said that the PLO deletes from its charter, calls for the destruction of Israel.

He said that in its January 11 resolution, the Parliament did not call for the creation of a Palestinian state, contrary to the impression in Israel that it did. The resolution merely said that a comprehensive peace settlement should include "the option of a possible Palestinian state."

ariel

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BACKGROUND

A pragmatic hawk for Defence

By HIRSH GOODMAN



THE WORST THING one could say about the pending appointment of Moshe Arens to the post of the Likud's defence minister is that Israel will be losing an excellent ambassador to the United States.

Arens is a hawk who refused the Defence Ministry once before (after Ezer Weizman's resignation) because he was opposed to the Camp David Accords. But he is a pragmatic hawk, who has demonstrated consistently over the past months that he is an independent thinker who is not afraid to change his views. One example occurred last September, when the government unequivocally rejected President Reagan's peace initiative and announced a decision to establish three more settlements in the territories. Arens cabled Washington's reaction to Jerusalem, and included a personal appraisal that was not at all complimentary to the government.

The new minister's policies will not be dramatically different from those of Ariel Sharon. There will be a big difference in style, though. Arens believes profoundly — perhaps even more profoundly than Sharon, who in 1977 was prepared to countenance an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank that Judea, Samaria and Gaza should always remain under Israeli control. His view is born out of both security and ideological philosophies, which translated into opinions which propelled him into the senior party position in Herut.

He supported the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor, and undoubtedly would have been in favour of Operation Peace for Galilee, though one cannot be sure whether he would have supported the entry in West Beirut that Sharon wanted.

Arens believes strongly, too, that Israel has to be militarily independent, specifically in terms of weapons production. An aeronautical engineer by training, and a senior member of the Israel Aircraft Industries' staff, he played an important role in developing several large-scale weapons systems, including the Kfir, and was one of the main lobbyists for the Lavie when the fate of Israel's

second-generation fighter was being discussed.

But he differs sharply from Sharon when it comes to independence from the U.S. Unlike the outgoing defence minister, Arens, especially since he has been in Washington, has come to believe that strong ties are important, even if that involves Israel's moderating its policies.

Sharon believes, and perhaps he is correct, that America needs Israel as much as, if not more than, Israel needs America. He feels that the \$3 billion-plus aid package is a cheap price for what the Americans in particular, and the West in general, are getting from Israel in return.

Arens knows that American support is vital to Israel's defence in more ways than one, and in order to secure that support the nation must compromise on issues that do not threaten its physical survival or compromise its political conscience.

He is a gentleman of mild manner and a clear preference for understatement. He has made a very positive impression on the American media, standing up to hostile reporters on charges which were hard to answer: the morality of the war in Lebanon, civilian casualties, the bombing of Beirut and so on. He has had to face difficult questions on Israel's settlement policy, especially during the

budget debate when opponents of Israel very successfully forged a link in the public mind between settlements and aid. He had to explain Israel's apparent obduracy when King Hussein appeared to be so forthcoming on Reagan's peace proposals.

REGARDLESS OF one's personal views, one watched Arens on American television and heard a voice of reason. One could disagree with the details of his argument, but one had to admit that his words and thoughts were logical and well reasoned.

At a cocktail party in Washington recently an Israeli attaché who had just returned from a Senate hearing with the ambassador recounted how Arens completely reversed the opinion of the senators. The subject under discussion was Israel's views on the supply of F-16s to Jordan. Arens, according to the attaché, took out his pencil, and in the unemotional tones of an engineer, explained why the supply of the aircraft would be dangerous not only for Israel, but for the Jordanians as well. His logic was ironclad.

"And the best thing about it," the attaché went on, "is that he never once mentioned the Bible, the Holocaust or the Soviets."

THE QUESTION is whether the appointment of Arens is going to

lead to any real change in Israel's defence policies. We are virtually guaranteed that Israel's policies will be presented with more style; but there will be little change.

Arens will probably be a maximalist with regard to the conditions of Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, but he will be more sensitive to both the American and the Lebanese positions than was Sharon. He will not dictate, dig in and resort to theatrics (like the Sharon-Lebanese agreement) to achieve his goals, but will weigh up what is feasible and attainable at what cost. He won't threaten Pierre Jemayel or Ambassador Maurice Draper, but reason with them.

He will give new impetus to the Lavie fighter project, and probably advocate accelerating local arms production — a view which has not prevailed in the Defence Ministry since the days of Shimon Peres.

Arens should have no problem securing the support of the general staff, many of whom are relieved to see Sharon going.

The incoming minister was a lobbyist for defence spending, he is respected by the IDF senior command, who have been impressed not only by his defence stand, but also by his performance in the U.S. They will see him as a technocrat who speaks the same figures and statistics as they do, and not as a general who will establish a separate command structure to run private wars, as Sharon tried to do with the National Planning Unit headed by Aluf Avraham Tamir.

Arens enters the Defence Ministry with the full backing of Prime Minister Begin. He was twice the premier's choice for the post; he has headed the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee; and it seems that he will enjoy the support of the army. For these reasons, he will be able to act independently of Sharon's potential for intimidation as minister without portfolio in the same cabinet.

Arens will be his own man, expressing views very similar in content to those of his predecessor, but in a very different style.

The writer is The Jerusalem Post's defence correspondent.

Arens—a curriculum vitae

1934 and 1937. On his return to Israel, he took a teaching post at the Technion.

Arens joined the Israel Aircraft Industries as deputy general manager (engineering) in 1962, while continuing his association with the Technion. In 1964 he headed a committee charged with planning the adaptation of Ben-Gurion Airport to the supersonic age. His work at the IAI, where he designed aircraft and missiles, won him the Israel Defence Prize in 1971.

Arens has been active in Herut politics ever since his arrival in Israel. After serving as chairman of the party's Tel Aviv branch and later of its central committee, he was elected to the Knesset in 1974. In 1975, he turned down an offer to become the Defence Ministry's chief scientist.

Following the Likud's election victory in 1977, Arens became chairman of the Knesset Foreign

Affairs and Defence Committee. He voted against the Camp David peace agreement, arguing that Israel was giving up too much to Egypt. He was reportedly a candidate for defence minister in 1980 after the resignation of Ezer Weizman, but declined to join a cabinet committed to the Israel-Egypt peace treaty. Today, he says he supports the treaty as an established fact.

In February 1982 Arens was appointed ambassador to the U.S.

Arens, the technocrat, is reputedly a hard taskmaster, but one who is prepared to work overtime with his team. He was instrumental in introducing management discipline into the previously ad hoc systems of the Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee. He is a champion of Israel's technological development and has strongly urged the development of a third-generation fighter aircraft.

Wolf Ditzer writes from Washington.

PEOPLE

OF COURSE the big guessing game is what Ariel Sharon will be doing in his new hat, with people who should know saying that Begin does not intend to let him in on the act — witness his exclusion from the cabinet team negotiating with Lebanon.

Ma'ariv editor emeritus Shalom Rosenfeld put it wittily in his midweek column: "Ministers staying on in the cabinet after the crisis are wracking their brains to find the answer to the question: which non-portfolio will Sharon hold — without Defence, Foreign Affairs, or Settlement?"

One senior Likud politician has it that Sharon intends devoting himself to the portfolio of settling accounts. Labour veteran David Hasehen urged in *Davar* that Sharon quit not only the government but also the Knesset, and be sent as our ambassador to Zaire.

INTERESTING stories are now emerging from the Defence Ministry about the extravagance of the National Security Unit headed by Aluf Avraham Tamir, who also incurred the ire of Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan by blowing it up into a parallel GHQ. Ministry sources claim that instead of operating from the 15th storey of the Hilton, Tamir and his men could have worked in the ministry compound. The big bash they threw for Zaire Defence Secretary Rear-Admiral Lomponda

Sharon's next job?

(plus various Herutniks led by David Magen) cost the ministry a reputed \$2 million. Apart from which the money for the many presents bought by the guests from Zaire during their tour of Israel came from the ministry's hospitality budget.

IT IS FORTUNATE that Deputy Premier David Levy volunteered to represent the government at the funeral of Peace Now grenade victim Emlil Grunzweig. Our political sources say that he's one of the few members of the Begin cabinet who was acceptable in that sad gathering.

THE POLITICAL standing of Finance Minister Yoram Aridor has strengthened since the crisis, with him becoming not only Begin's legal counsellor but his general troubleshooter. Indeed, it was noted that Aridor spoke on Begin's behalf in the last-minute negotiations he conducted, along with coalition executive chairman Avraham Shapira, with Tehiya's Hanan Porat to stop the three-MK faction abstaining over Sharon's ouster.

Apparently Porat's ideological misgivings were overcome by promises to increase the budget of the Science and Technology

PUBLIC FACES Mark Segal



Science and Technology Minister Yuval Ne'eman... "the best of both worlds."

Ministry headed by Tehiya's Yuval Ne'eman.

I hear there is ferment in Tehiya over Minister Ne'eman's frequent absences abroad to attend scientific conferences. Gula Cohen reportedly wants the professor to stop enjoying the best of both worlds. Anyway, she seems to be heading back to Herut, and many Ne'eman supporters — including Dr. Israel Eldad, Prof. Yosef Nedava and ex-MK and Tehiya founder Moshe Shamir — have dropped out of the party.

It is understood that Moshe Arens

will bring back with him to Defence Benjamin Netanyahu, whom he picked to be counsellor at the Washington Embassy. Netanyahu, whose brother was Entebbe hero Yoni Netanyahu, impressed his boss by his Zionist fervour and engineering training when Arens visited his own alma mater, MIT.

IT WILL BE interesting to see how Begin responds to the idea of Ezer Weizman replacing Arens in Washington. Meanwhile, all sorts of people have been offering themselves for the post, including Knesset Speaker Menahem Bevan, who has begun to lobby the Prime Minister's Office. Another name mentioned for the job is that of Dr. Amnon Goldenberg, who this month ended four years as president of the Bar Association amid loud controversy over his criticism of the Kahan Commission report at an association luncheon club.

When the association's central committee met last week and took issue with his strictures, Goldenberg apologized for having allowed himself to be "misconstrued." He said he had written explanatory letters to all three commission members. His presidential post is being contested in the association elections by Labour's David Libal and the Likud's Menahem Berger. FINANCE MINISTRY director-general Ezra Sadan is said to regret having sent Prof. Yakir Plesner to be his man at the Bank of Israel, where he is deputy to Governor Moshe Mandelbaum.

Last week Plesner put his foot in it again, causing a whooper of a row. It happened shortly after Manufacturers' Association president Eli Hurwitz sent out joint invitations with textile magnate Israel Pollack, in his capacity as chairman of the public committee to celebrate the 70th birthday of Lord Sieff of Brimpton (still Marcus to everyone), for a big party in Tel Aviv on April 27 to which VIPs will be coming from all over the world.

Plesner accused Sieff's giant Marks and Spencer chain of "buying low quality and cheap goods from Israel." This charge produced an outraged response from some of our leading industrialists headed by Delta's Dov Lautman and Elite's David Moserov, who used the weekly session of the Manufacturers' Association presidium to dismiss Plesner's charges as "absolute balderdash."

They protested that Plesner had defamed Marks and Spencers, which is not only the biggest single buyer of Israeli goods in the world, but has done more than any other firm towards raising the quality of Israeli manufacturing.

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KNESSET MEMBER Charlie Bilon went to market the day the report of the inquiry commission into the Beirut massacre was published. The one-time Black Panther goes to Jerusalem's Mahane Yehuda at least once a week to feel the public pulse while squeezing tomatoes and exchanging banter with the vendors. The reaction to the report, he discovered, was not dismay at the government of Menachem Begin and Ariel Sharon, which had been found indirectly responsible for the massacre, but anger at the Labour Party. It was Labour's fault, said the marketplace, that the commission had been created in the first place.

Two days later, a municipal official watching the Peace Now demonstrators march from downtown Jerusalem to the government centre was appalled to see men, some of whom he recognized, attacking the marchers with a fury that defied explanation. They tore placards, shouted obscenities, punched and kicked. At least one man was seen attempting to urinate on the marchers. Emil Grunzweig was part of the Peace Now skirmish line, fighting off the hooligans at the head of the march.

At least one husband of counter-demonstrators was reportedly brought to the city from the nearby town of Beit Shemesh. Allegations would be made to the police that many of the counter-demonstrators had been recruited with money by well-known right-wing political elements not of the lunatic fringe.

An aide to Mayor Teddy Kollek, who had seen the distorted faces of the attackers, told a colleague upon returning to his office: "There's going to be murder." A few hours later, the grenade was thrown that killed Emil Grunzweig.

VIOLENT DEATH is no rarity in this country, and the House of Israel has learned to live a contented enough life even with the occasional risk or shell coming through the roof. But the death of one man in the darkness outside the Prime Minister's Office just over a week ago carried with it the heart-stopping sensation of a tremor at the structure's very foundations.

In the garish light of the grenade blast, the nation had suddenly seen the chaos towards which it had been drifting. A decade before, the Black Panthers had spilled out of the Musrara Quarter to scream at a placid nation, "You've forgotten us," and to demand a piece of the pie. Their name and their protest technique had been urged upon them by American-educated social workers.

Somewhat, this classic expression of left-wing social protest emanating from the *shekhunot* or deprived neighbourhoods of Jerusalem, has been transmuted in a decade into right-wing political hooliganism and an ethnic-political alienation so deep as to have left a broad section of decent people in the Oriental Jewish community unmoved — and even satisfied — at the death of Grunzweig, a reservist paratrooper officer and idealist.

THE NATION was left pondering last week how this had happened, with even the political right showing clear signs of concern about the country's future.

The plight of a local soccer team may seem far removed from a national political trauma, but Herut City Councilor Reuven Rivlin sees the emotional attachment developed by residents of the city's *shekhunot* for Jerusalem Betar in the

Fire in the streets

The Jerusalem Post's ABRAHAM RABINOVICH explores the background to ethnic-political divisiveness and tries to see what lies ahead.



Encounter during demonstration. Photographer Maxie Garb thinks that Emil Grunzweig is third from left.

1950s as a clear landmark in their political development.

Betar was the sports organization of the Revisionist movement headed by Menachem Begin. The ideology of the Revisionists was foreign to the new immigrants from Arab countries, most of them poorly educated, but Begin's status as an outsider in Israel's political establishment was something they could clearly identify with. "They automatically supported Begin and Betar because it was a sublimation for their own feeling of being disadvantaged," says Rivlin, who for years served as chairman of Jerusalem Betar.

"They believed to the depths of their souls that the team was being deliberately tripped up by the sports organizations and the judges, just like they felt they themselves were being deprived," says Rivlin. Ten times in little more than a decade the team was forced to play home games in an empty stadium as punishment for fan violence.

BETAR HAS SINCE known glory and Begin has become prime minister, but the feeling of deprivation among much of the Oriental community continues.

"The ethnic gap has widened, not closed," says Jerusalem municipal spokesman, Rafi Davara, who has intimate knowledge of the *shekhunot* and is himself from the Oriental community. "The situation of the Oriental community has much improved, but its expectations have increased even more and there is a terrible frustration."

Street-gang worker Baruch Meiri says that youths in the *shekhunot* feel relegated to second-class status. "No improvement in their material standing can substitute for lack of formal education," he says. "You can see this in their encounters with Peace Now, when they shout with anger: 'You students, you professors...'"

Somewhere around here, logic fades into the psychology. It is one of the major anomalies of Israeli politics that the attachment of the disgruntled Oriental community to outsider Begin, an archetype Ashkenazi, has survived even his success. "They haven't adjusted to the idea that he's in power," says Davara. "When they attack the establishment, they're still attacking the Labour establishment that's been out of office for six years. They'll blame Labour for lack of housing, not Begin."

TO ITS CREDIT, the right-wing leadership — at least significant sections of it — has been seriously jarred by these recent developments. "What we have seen so far is only a very small measure of the communal tension that exists," says Herut MK Meir Shitrit, one of the most astute political figures in the country and the mayor of Yavne. "Unless something is done, I wouldn't be surprised if we have people on both sides shooting at each other in the streets. I don't sleep well at night thinking about it."

Says Rivlin, "I'm frightened. I always felt that whatever else hap-

pened, we all served in the army. There we might argue all day, but in the end, we would all drink coffee together. In times of crisis, we fought together and we gave each other cover, and if one of us was hurt there was this feeling of deep sadness — and it didn't matter at all if it was an Ashkenazi or an Oriental Jew. We were one family. But this grenade, it's broken the norm, it's set a precedent. I'm willing to bet that whoever threw it never served in the army."

Indicative of the deep impact of the recent events was the reaction of Tzahi Hanegbi, son of firebrand Gula Cohen, of whose Tehiya Party he is also a member, and a hitherto unreconstructed rabble rouser. In a radio interview on the anti-Peace Now demonstration and the killing of Grunzweig, he openly acknowledged that he had exploited ethnic passions among Oriental Jews to incite them against the Labour Party. "I didn't realize until now the terrible significance of the hate I saw in their eyes."

Says Bilon: "If the Panthers were starting today we would be throwing grenades instead of Molotov cocktails. No question about it. One camp has been inciting violence and this has given the street permission to act violently. If the style changes, violence would subside."

THE MURDER of Grunzweig prompted urgent attempts last week by politicians in all parties to create a national unity government despite the seemingly irreconcilable differences between government and opposition. Herut sources said that word had been passed from Begin himself to begin a campaign for restraint among the party faithful in rallies and parlour meetings, the theme being that national unity is more important than the Likud staying in power.

It is a theme that has not so far been sounded publicly by right-wing leaders, particularly Begin. In his Knesset address last week noting Grunzweig's murder, Begin said the right things in condemning the grenade attack and defending the right of free debate, but he said them very briefly and they were hurried in the general context.

"He knows very well how to wring pathos if any Jewish blood is shed by an Arab Kutyusha," notes Labour MK Ya'acov Gil. "This time he was just matter of fact."

Bilon says that Begin deliberately played down his call because he wants to use "the street" in the next election and does not really want it harnessed. Others believe that

Begin did not want to seem to be acknowledging that violence was the special province of the right. Whatever the reason, even loyal Herut politicians were uneasy about Begin's restraint. "I believe that Begin must see it as a prime national mission to calm the country," says Rivlin.

A MAJOR question is what will happen after Begin's departure. "That's when the real upheaval (*mahapach*) will happen," says Rivlin. "He's the last man, after Ben-Gurion, with real authority — someone who can change the thinking of the whole nation."

Politicians on the right agree with those on the left that the attachment of the Oriental community to nationalistic policies may not outlive Begin's rule. Rivlin fears that the political scene will reorient itself along simple Ashkenazi-Oriental lines. "We need Begin, or someone like him, in power for another 30 years."

Bilon believes that President Yitzhak Navon can play that role and appeal to Oriental Jews now in the Likud camp. "He goes out among the people and he speaks their language. They listen to him."

Shitrit would not rely on the charisma of any one man. He has his own solution. "We need a national unity government for six to 10 years in order to permit tensions to subside and to work towards closing the Ashkenazi-Oriental gap without unnecessary political friction."

Such a government, he says, would not prevent the various parties from voting as they see fit on the territories or other issues. National unity governments are usually formed in the face of an external danger but not this one. "Our greatest danger is from within," says Shitrit. "We have failed in the education of a generation. We have to change our educational and social priorities."

The 33-year-old Knesset member, son of an illiterate immigrant from Morocco, believes it can be done — "within a generation, within 10 years" — and he makes no secret about his ambitions to be in a governmental position that would enable him to implement his ideas. These include abolition of all subsidies, the establishment of a minimum guaranteed income for those who work, abolition of unemployment pay, the integration of all educational streams — secular, religious and kibbutz — into one national system on a higher level than anything that exists at the moment, and a presidential system that would free the country's elected leader from coalition constraints and enable him to push through needed reforms.

"The problem with the Oriental community isn't economic deprivation," he says. "They're fine economically. The problem is the loss of the sense of responsibility for their own fate. The problem is image and status. It's a problem that can be solved. Oriental youths aren't stupid. They can be educated."

Whatever the long term solutions, the immediate ones are clearly in the hands of the political leadership of the right. It is they, particularly Begin, who can whip up tensions or induce calm merely by what they say. It is asking much of politicians to give up a winning hand but after the latest explosion of violence they can no longer ignore its implications. If they choose to ride the wind by exploiting communal tensions, they will reap the whirlwind. As shall we all.

COMMENTARY

LIKUD MK Ronnie Milo says that the impact of the killing of Peace Now demonstrator Emil Grunzweig on February 10 "must bring everyone to their senses."

"At one extreme they cry 'Begin-murderer,' and at the other 'Peres-PLO.' I think that an actual meeting of the two leaders, and the fact that people would see them talking in a friendly way on TV, would pacify the situation."

People, he continues, must learn to accept that political rivalry and ideological struggles are an integral part of normal democratic procedure, which should not lead to extreme reactions.

Milo was shocked by the haste with which two front-bench Alignment spokesmen — Motta Gur and Victor Shemtov — went on the air soon after the grenade was thrown outside the Prime Minister's Office to blame the government for the murder.

"That's very serious indeed. If all sorts of lunatic-fringe elements scream irresponsible slogans, that upsets one. But when key Alignment leaders talk this way, then that's incitement and a blood-libel against the premier and his colleagues. Such extremist talk could cause an even worse chain-reaction."

Interviewed by *The Jerusalem Post* last week, Milo said:

"It's my feeling that some elements want to exploit Grunzweig's death and make political profit out of it. I think they're really making a mistake, which will rebound on them. After all, when that mudman threw a grenade at Ben-Gurion in the Knesset, no one at the time charged that democracy was in danger."

"Isn't democracy in danger in Israel today?" I ask.

The Herut front-bencher did not think so, especially since everyone serves in the army so there is no danger of a coup. What is dangerous is the deepening rift between opposing political camps. "People can't set double standards in expressions of democracy, praise an anti-government rally of 400,000 as the height of democracy, yet label a pro-Begin rally of 250,000 as rabble-rousing and anti-democratic," Milo remarked indignantly.

What of Ariel Sharon labelling the opposition "fifth columnists" from the Knesset podium?

The flow of Milo's words dried up for a moment before he declared: "I never heard him saying that." He agreed that no one should dismiss his adversaries as traitors or charge them with "stabbing the nation in the back." No, he could not think of any serious political figure who had used such epithets.

NEXT we discussed the idea of a national unity government and its prospects. The Likud MK agreed that there were good internal and external reasons for implementing such an idea. It would be all to the good to re-establish a national consensus when facing the outside world. There were at least four issues on which the Likud and Labour could find a common denominator: they both oppose a Palestinian state and dealing with the PLO; they are both for a united Jerusalem and against returning to the 1967 borders.

On the other hand, he pointed out, the objective problem exists that the two big parties differ most decidedly on the Reagan plan.

"I would be happy if a magic formula could be found to establish a common denominator for a well-to-wall coalition. After all, the Reagan

The roots of violence

The Post's Mark Segal talks to three leading members of the ruling Likud coalition about the sharp escalation in political tension in recent weeks.

plan would adversely affect us all," he declared.

Addressing Ronnie Milo the lawyer, rather than the politician or the brother-in-law of Begin's daughter, Hassia, I asked whether he thought the government had indeed implemented all the Kahan Commission's recommendations. Yes, it had, he replied, saying that it was inconceivable that the cabinet shouldn't adopt the recommendations of a commission it had itself appointed.

"I personally have some reservations about the report," he admitted. "I think there is a striking lack of balance between the contents of the report and its concrete recommendations. They are terribly strict if one sees them in the context of what the body of the report had to say. Personally, I hold that the commission did an injustice, particularly to the army commanders."

The MK-lawyer claimed that a common misconception was that "the commission's report is on a par with the verdict of a law court, and that it cannot be subjected to criticism." He argued against the notion that a judicial inquiry commission was a court of inquiry, when it was a body set up by the government to submit a report within the terms of the Inquiry Commissions Law.

Pursuing this line, Milo said that even court verdicts can be challenged. Even the Supreme Court, which comprises the highest level of the judiciary, can be wrong and one can question its judgment. So the same certainly goes for a judicial inquiry commission. "But there are those who for political purposes would put its findings beyond criticism."

However, the cabinet had to accept the commission's recommendations, "and as a lawyer I concur with the rule that such decisions must be upheld, and implemented. And we can continue to debate whether they were just mistaken, or whatever."

WOULDN'T leaving Sharon in the cabinet mean that Begin and the new defence minister would have a "back-seat driver" in the vehicle of state?

"That's nonsense," exclaimed Milo with exasperation. "The premier's conduct during the crisis has shown that he is very much in charge, and that he knows what he wants and how to achieve it. And he got a near-unanimous vote for it in the cabinet, and even in the Likud caucus he carried. Sharon's supporters with him. I would not say that Sharon as minister-without-portfolio will cause any harm. He certainly won't stop Begin from running things as he sees fit."

THE HERUT information chief, Gideon Gadot, 42, was his usual fervent self when he welcomed me to his pleasantly appointed fifth floor office in the Mifal Hapais building in Tel Aviv. Many fine paintings adorn the walls, but only one photograph — that of his uncle, the late Arye Ben-Eliezer, who was Begin's deputy for decades until his death in 1968.

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Ronnie Milo



Michael Reiser



Gideon Gadot

If it may be said that Milo's connection with the "fighting family," as the inner Herut circle is known, is by marriage, Gadot was born into it. He worked as a journalist in the defunct *Herut* and *Hayom* dailies, ran a successful PR agency, and did a brilliant job as Likud campaign manager in the 1981 elections.

He reacted as if stung by a hornet when I asked if our democracy was now in danger.

"The real threat to democracy comes from those who talk about it in platitudes and cause untold harm to the process of law and order with their inflammatory phrases. It's unbelievable that Yossi Sarid (one of the Alignment's doves) should say: 'Whoever shed blood and gave license to others to spill blood cannot ask for tolerance. What does he mean?' In effect, he's accusing the government of spilling the blood of Emil Grunzweig. Isn't that verbal violence? And shouldn't he be sued for it?"

"It's a real blood libel. People don't realize it; Sarid uses fine words to couch his blood libel against the entire political camp, claiming that only the right-wing in-

cites to violence. Did he oppose the use of the banner saying 'Begin Murderer' at the anti-government rally in Tel Aviv? And he talks of incitement to violence?"

"It's quite obvious that we all deplore this abominable crime [the murder of Emil Grunzweig], but it has nothing to do with the great political debate now going on in the country, which I'm sure will grow even more intense as we approach the implementation of the autonomy scheme. What we must do now is apprehend the murderer and put him on trial."

Gadot would like to propose that all political parties agree to suspend demonstrations and public rallies for the next three months. "They have a dynamic of their own. When you assemble a crowd of 100,000 or more in one place, things tend to get out of hand. You can't control people's behaviour and the banners they might wave, however inflammatory. After all, it's well known that the media and especially TV teams look for 'action,' they don't focus their cameras on the banner that says 'Begin resign' but on the one that says 'Begin Murderer.' The ball has to be stopped rolling. I maintain that all sides are equally to blame. It's a function of the general standard of our political spokesmen. Just look at the Knesset records and you'll find swear-words, nastiness and insults that used to belong only in the fish market."

MICHAEL REISER, MK, 37, has earned the esteem of even party rivals for his diligence and talents as organizational chief. As David Levy's chief political aide, he helped him survive the barrage of sick jokes that accompanied the former Herut Histadrut faction head's entry into national politics.

No admirer of Sharon, he can now breathe more easily since the long-time alliance between Levy and Ahdor has been re-cemented. His political involvement, like Milo's, began in the Herut faction of the Tel Aviv University students' union, when he took a degree in industrial relations.

Sitting in his office in the Knesset, Reiser pondered my questions about rising violence and threats to Israeli democracy. "Israeli society has more than its share of violence," he began. "I think it's part of the general problem besetting Western democracies. We have to confront it, and not bog ourselves down pinning the blame on this or that factor. And it's not because I belong to a particular party. No one has a monopoly on good or evil. Unlike Yossi Sarid, I can produce quotes of verbal violence from both sides of the spectrum. The question facing all of us, irrespective of affiliation, is how to stop the downhill trend."

"I don't have the slightest doubt that our democracy is in a healthy state — witness the workings of the Kahan Commission and the government's adoption of its recommendations. I think the government emerged with flying colours from this crucial test with all its difficulties. After all, the attorney-general did rule that the govern-

ment had implemented the report; if he had held otherwise, then we would have been faced with a real problem as far as the workings of our democracy are concerned. All the other comments, demands and questions are legitimate enough but that's beyond the Commission's findings."

REISER attributes the rise of violence in this country to the convergence of a number of developments and social trends: communal ferment, friction between the religious and the secular, and the change of government.

In the young Herut MK's considered opinion: "Too many in Labour have not yet absorbed the fact that they have lost power. They haven't yet adjusted to being in the opposition. The Likud's debut reached its climax quite early on, with the visit of Sadat to Jerusalem, and the rest of its first term in office was an anti-climax with expectations of an imminent fall."

Pursuing his theme of intolerance from the left, Reiser referred with bitterness to the statement of one of Israel's leading poets, Prof. Natan Zach, forbidding the public reading of his poems in Judea and Samaria. And then there was "the manner in which author Amos Oz chose a Labour election campaign TV spot to divide the nation into 'them' and 'us,' into a superior and an inferior culture. What Oz did was to highlight the identification between party and community. The logical development for members of the communities is that any epithet or even the most objective criticism against the government and the Likud is interpreted as aimed at them personally."

What about Peres being stopped from speaking in Kiryat Shmona? Reiser said "It's easy to complain about unsophisticated people in Kiryat Shmona, but my complaints are with the intelligentsia who should know better."

The best way to heal the wounds and surmount the rifts dividing the country was a national unity government, said Reiser, who raised the idea half a year before the 1981 elections. According to his notion the elections would have focused on the territorial issue, on the Likud's Camp David formula and Labour's territorial compromise concept, and the subsequent coalition would have cleaved to the line favoured by the larger number of voters.

For Reiser the main problem facing Israel, apart from security issues, is social well-being and internal cohesion and the best way of tackling the burning social problems is to bring the two main parties into the same coalition.

Asked about the likelihood of a permanent Sharon faction in Herut, Reiser replied that "if that should happen, believe me, others won't sit idly by, and there will be counter-moves. That could lead to disintegration because each group would pull in another direction. As the chairman of the organizational department, I am endeavouring to the best of my ability to curb any such factional activity and keep our party work on an even keel within its institutionalized framework. I can say with authority that the moment that our rank and file sensed that there was a factional interest in all that ferment, they calmed down. There were expressions of sympathy, but they won't be repeated."

Herut remained a disciplined political movement, as indicated by the fact that Herut as such was not involved in the pro-Sharon rallies during the crisis, Reiser pointed out.

THE KAHAN Commission has, after five months of painstaking investigation, presented its findings to the world. The Arab regimes — which exercised themselves so heatedly over the massacres at Sabra and Shatilla in September — themselves said nothing, did nothing, offered nothing to make any impact or give any clarification to that investigation or any other inquiry.

Foreign doctors, nurses, journalists, and others came forward as witnesses to the massacres and the events leading up to them. These witnesses came forward out of compassion for the Palestinians and horror at the massacre.

How did the Lebanese themselves help? They refused the Kahan Commission permission even to visit the site. Did the Arab regimes seek to pressure the Lebanese into explaining the events themselves?

No, the Arab world announced that the Israeli Commission represented a Zionist conspiracy to cover up the Israeli role in the massacre. The real murderers, the bloodthirsty people who committed these crimes, have been overlooked. The Arab world is too impotent to address its condemnation to the Lebanese Phalangists who — according to every version

A Palestinian's praise

By JAMIL HAMAD

of the events — engineered and carried out the killings.

Once again, that old, worn-out "conspiracy mentality" is distorting the Arab interpretation of the facts. The Arabs would rather, it seems, lay all responsibility for these horrors on their favourite demons rather than face the real *shaitan* (satan).

WHY HAVE the Arab powers refused to lay the blame for the massacre at the door of the real killers? Lebanese Phalangist fighters cold-bloodedly slaughtered Palestinians in their hundreds. Phalangist leaders appeared on television throughout the world shamelessly admitting responsibility for the massacres. Why haven't the Arabs even mentioned this terrible fact while condemning the "Zionist monsters"?

The Kahan Commission found that senior officers in the army, intelligence and in the government were responsible for appalling negligence and for tragically underestimating the Phalangist intentions.

There is no doubt about the

culpability of the Israelis who were in control of Beirut and who were, consequently, responsible for the safety of the Palestinian civilians living in Sabra and Shatilla camps. It is not for me to agree that this or that kind of disciplinary action is severe enough or not; it is satisfactory to me — since nothing can undo the tragedy — that the men deemed responsible have been damaged, perhaps permanently.

I do not see how the firing of a defence minister and a chief of intelligence can be interpreted as a "Zionist conspiracy." How many of the Phalangists or their leaders have been the objects of an investigation? How many have been publicly condemned or punished? The shooting, terrorization and intimidation of Palestinians is still going on in Lebanon. Has Amin Jemayel's administration made any outcry against this? Have the Arab powers made any outcry?

The Arab world once again reveals its inability to understand the Israelis. The Arabs must bear in mind that the judicial system in Israel is a fair and just system, impervious to bribery and government control.

Why have the real killers not been brought to justice? Why don't the Arabs — instead of flexing their muscles at the Israelis — use that energy to call for a Lebanese investigation into the actual massacres.

I AM a Palestinian who has seen my people massacred again and again in many countries. I see in the Kahan Report a positive and encouraging sign that the much-vaunted Jewish conscience is alive and well in Israel. I have hopes that this healthy conscience will express itself, politically, on behalf of my Palestinian rights.

The tragic and needless death of Emil Grunzweig indicates that there are peace-loving Israelis who are willing to give up not only settlements, but also their lives, for the sake of a real peace and for the sake of the authentic Jewish conscience.

I urge the Arab world to think about, and to interpret, what this

spirit in Israel means; what it means to the future of Arab-Israeli relations.

It is easy for the Arabs and Palestinians to talk about the anti-Palestinian policies of Israel. Why do we not give equal attention to the well-intentioned Israelis who openly deplore those policies of the present government. This peace-seeking faction badly needs to hear some positive appreciation and recognition from those Arabs who also seek a rapprochement.

I, as a Palestinian, am satisfied with the Kahan Commission's investigation and findings. I did not ask the commission to "discover" that Israelis carried guns into Sabra and Shatilla and killed women and children. I asked only that the truth be uncovered and broadcast to the world, and that those Israelis who bore responsibility be punished for their role in the tragedy.

The Israelis who demanded the inquiry, those who laboured on the investigation, and served it have, to my satisfaction, fulfilled the command, "You shall appoint yourselves judges and officers, tribe by tribe... and they shall dispense justice to the people."

The writer is a Palestinian journalist.

THE NATIONAL and international reaction to the Kahan Report naturally centred on the issue of whether or not the government would accept the findings; on the antics of the minister of defence and his response to the findings; and on the personal tragedies that ensued. Unfortunately, many important points and lessons have been ignored in the public debate.

Once again the issue of whether or not the minister of defence should be a military man comes to the fore. This writer has repeatedly expressed the opinion that given the closely-knit "family" background of the Israel Defence Forces, it is a mistake to have a military man as defence minister. It is no coincidence that on two occasions when a commission of inquiry was established a military minister of defence was involved.

Both in 1973 and in 1983, the minister of defence, in addition to his military qualifications, was an overpowering personality who imprinted his stamp on the military establishment, and who in many ways, if only by virtue of his personality and personal standing, intimidated, at least psychologically, the entire military establishment.

By the nature of things, a military minister of defence develops into a super-chief-of-staff. This happened during the period of the late Moshe Dayan, though it was even more evident during Ariel Sharon's term of office. In Lebanon, Sharon frequently directed military operations, even at divisional level. Military cliques based on past common experiences and loyalties, and on personal professional relationships, developed. Senior officers tended to lose their identity and to adapt themselves to what they considered to be the minister's line.

Israel's experience with civilian ministers of defence — David Ben-Gurion, Levi Eshkol and Shimon Peres — has been a good one. There was a much clearer distinction in the three ministers between civilian and military authority. Israel's experience with the two military ministers has led to the trauma of a commission of inquiry. One notable exception was Ezer Weizman:

despite being a military man, he alone did not try to become a super-chief-of-staff.

A SECOND point worthy of emphasis is the unbelievable, and unpardonable fact that the prime minister was not informed of vital developments involving the armed forces that could affect his government until the actual developments had commenced. Even then he was kept out of the picture by soothing reports that obscured the facts. He was to learn of these from a BBC broadcast. It is difficult to comprehend the complete lack of reporting procedure to the prime minister.

Another disturbing point relates to the functioning of the prime minister. According to the report, the premier did not listen to the prophetic warning of Deputy Prime Minister David Levy at a cabinet meeting, because he was busy preparing a press announcement about its conclusions. Three times in its report, the Kahan Commission points to this alarming fact.

One wonders why no one else in the vast assembly who today attend cabinet meetings could be entrusted to draft an announcement for the press?

Over the years the prime minister had a military secretary who was of the calibre and stature that he could maintain a direct relationship on equal terms with the senior military staff.

But Sharon considered an authoritative senior officer on the prime minister's staff to be an unnecessary luxury; he saw himself as being responsible for contact with the prime minister on military matters.

Yet, above all, what emerges from the report, is the utter lack of a political evaluation function at the level of the prime minister and the cabinet offices. At no level, is there any provision for a process of policy evaluation. The only organization capable of carrying out such an

By CHAIM HERZOG



"In Lebanon Sharon frequently directed military operations, even at divisional level."

evaluation is military intelligence, which is properly constructed and has a superb research and evaluation department, one based on ability, know-how and a thorough understanding of the subject.

IT IS no exaggeration to say that Israel's military intelligence is the best in the world on the subject. It is supposed to cover, namely, the Middle East.

At no level — neither in the Prime Minister's Office, the Foreign Ministry, the cabinet level or the Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee — is there an independent think-tank. The net result is that there is an overdependence on military intelligence.

The chief of military intelligence tends to be regarded at times as a fortune-teller whose crystal ball tells all. Policy-makers tend to hide behind the intelligence function, with the result, as Henry Kissinger put it, that "they know too much and understand too little."

Tom Hughes, a former U.S. Under Secretary of State now at the Carnegie Foundation, once likened the relationship between the heads of government and intelligence to that between a drunkard and a lamp-post. He leans on the post, not to benefit from its light, but for support.

Finally, we must consider the disturbing findings that seem to indicate a chaotic situation exists in the recording of vital conversations, and reporting the fact that they took place. In its final chapter, the report of the Kahan Commission traces developments following the decision of the morning of September 15, 1982 to permit the Phalangist forces to enter the refugee camps.

The prime minister and the ministers heard about this decision only on the evening of Thursday, September 16. The Phalangists were already in the camps. No further report was received by the prime minister until Saturday the 18th, when he heard the news on the BBC. The facts speak for themselves.

THE MANNER in which the decision was taken in the entry of the Phalangists into the camps — on the roof of the advanced headquarters in Beirut — indicates a serious absence of preparatory staff work. Indeed, according to the report, no proper staff conference took place on this subject. The reporting about

the actual decision and about what happened afterwards reveal a sorry state of affairs.

The prime minister did not know, nor did the foreign minister. The chief of military intelligence maintained that he was not consulted; intelligence officers in Northern Command were briefed two hours after the Phalangists entered the camps. GHQ military intelligence was not consulted in advance, and the chief of the Mossad heard about the whole plan together with the ministers at the Cabinet meeting of Thursday evening. And yet there was a Mossad liaison officer with the Phalangists.

The reporting procedure thereafter within the army, as described in the report, indicates a near breakdown. Standing operating procedures did exist, but they were ignored.

There has been a tendency on the part of the Israeli public to mollycoddle the IDF and to play down any criticism, because it might affect morale. This approach, in my view, does a disservice to the country and to the army. The national tendency to sweep the IDF's shortcomings under the rug is a serious danger to our national security.

More than once I have expressed in the press my grave disquiet, from a professional point of view, at various aspects of the IDF's functioning in Lebanon. Events that cost lives and resulted in Israelis being taken prisoner were a natural corollary to the slovenliness and negligence that frequently characterize the IDF. Much of it was evident for all to see in Lebanon. In this, too, the minister of defence, in addition to the senior military command, cannot escape responsibility.

THE KAHAN report raises serious issues that have been obscured by the political and personal issues involved. If the government fails to draw conclusions from the picture presented in the report, then it will only have itself to blame for any further situations that give rise to new commissions of inquiry.

The writer is a former chief of military intelligence.

The shadow of Barbie

KLAUS BARBIE, alias Klaus Altmann-Hansen, SS service number 272/284, Nazi Party No. 4,583,085. *Hauptsturmführer*, Gestapo, *Sicherheitsdienst*, Department IV. A mere captain — and lord of death and torture in Lyon, 40 years ago.

Sentenced to death, *in absentia*, for the murder of 4,342 people, the deportation of 7,591 Jews, and the arrest of 14,311 members of the French Resistance. Not counting the many more thousands who were arrested, tortured, shot as hostages, deported and gassed in Auschwitz, when Barbie was in the Gestapo's Jewish Affairs Section in The Hague and in Amsterdam.

Not counting, also, the hundreds, if not thousands, of Bolivian miners and peasants who were murdered by the *paramilitaries* he organized and trained for General Hugo Banzer, and for General Garcia Meza and his deputy Arce Gomez, the dictators and heads of the Bolivian cocaine mafia until 1981.

Not counting, also, the 41 Jewish children from the orphanage Colonie Infant at Izieu, which, Barbie reported to his superiors, "had been cleaned out" on the morning of April 5, 1944 — transported to the transit camp at Drancy and from there to Auschwitz. That crime against humanity, for which Barbie was decorated with the Iron Cross 1st Class with Swords, is the charge he will now face in France.

But with the rise of a civilian, left-of-centre government in Bolivia, under President Hernan Siles Zúñiga, there were accounts to settle with the cocaine generals and their henchmen. And Vice-President Jaime Paz Zamora, rumours say, wanted Barbie-Altmann tried for his crimes in Bolivia. The ever-present danger of a new *coup d'état* by the army, however, made it more politic to shove Barbie off to France.

The Post's correspondent in Bonn, Meir Merhav, writes on the capture and coming trial in France of Nazi war criminal Klaus Barbie.

him to obtain information on Nazis serving in East Germany, and protected him against the French — until he was sought by the German police for the common crime of burgling a jewelry store near Augsburg.

With the help of the Vatican, and with a Red Cross travel document, Barbie made his way to Bolivia via Argentina. Why was he helped by the Vatican? "Because we had something in common," he once told a reporter, "we were anti-communists." In his new home, he found a rich field for his criminal talents — assisting successive puppetes by Bolivian colonels and generals, murder, torture, oppression, arms trafficking, the lucrative trade in cocaine.

UNLIKE Josef Mengele and some others, Barbie was not on the run. He felt secure in La Paz, protected with the environment of the German community there, guarded by the half-dozen hoods who accompanied him constantly, and trusting in his accomplices in the Bolivian Army and the cocaine mafia.

But with the rise of a civilian, left-of-centre government in Bolivia, under President Hernan Siles Zúñiga, there were accounts to settle with the cocaine generals and their henchmen. And Vice-President Jaime Paz Zamora, rumours say, wanted Barbie-Altmann tried for his crimes in Bolivia. The ever-present danger of a new *coup d'état* by the army, however, made it more politic to shove Barbie off to France.



BARBIE's notoriety comes not from the deportation and murder of thousands of Jews, nor even from the brutality he displayed and to which there are many surviving witnesses. Other Gestapo henchmen, low and high, did the same, but were not sought as viciously as France sought Barbie.

His notoriety comes from torturing to death with his own hands, Jean Moulin, the legendary Max, the leader of the French Resistance, the hero and shining symbol of the France that did not succumb; did not betray, did not deliver its own men and women or the Jews who lived among them; the France that did not collaborate, but gave its life

for freedom and human dignity — a France that, at the time, was in the minority, but a minority that counted.

It is the sinister legacy of the other France, the France of the collaborators, the informers, the profiteers, that is now being dragged out of the past by the shadow of Klaus Barbie. There is apprehension about the tales that the Butcher of Lyon may tell, which he threatened to tell if ever returned to France — of the traitors and the willing helpers without whom the 2,500 Gestapo men in Occupied France could never have done their abominable work.

It is not revenge for the murder of Jean Moulin and the thousands of other human beings, French and Jewish, that is being sought, French Premier Mauroy said, but justice. They want to remind the French of the past and the struggle by which they saved their honour. It is not punishment that is being sought, Simone Veil said, and not the trial of an individual, but the trial of Nazi ideology.

A JUDGEMENT of history, of Nazi ideology, so that it may never raise its head again? An exposure of the role played by the helpers and the helpers of the helpers of the Nazis? It is unlikely that all that will come to light in the trial of Klaus Barbie. He will not be tried again for the murder of Jean Moulin. And although his lawyers — presumably some of those from Germany who have become experts in defending Nazi criminals — will perhaps try to introduce evidence about French collaborators and traitors, they are likely to have difficulties with that.

Barbie will be tried for the deportation of the 41 Jewish orphans from Izieu and the 10 men and women in charge of the orphanage. Some of those Frenchmen who delivered Jews to the Nazis, like Maurice Papon, the former secretary-general of the Gironde Department, may be exposed — if they are still alive.

Not much of the sombre story of French collaboration is likely to emerge. History will remain mute on much that happened and France may not, after all, "now be finally liberated" by this trial, as the commentator of *Die Welt*, A. Graf Kageneck, wrote recently.

IF THERE WAS, in France, a feeling of satisfaction mingled with apprehension at the capture of Barbie, there was, in Germany, an almost audible sigh of relief that he had not been handed over to the Federal Republic and its punctiliously legalistic judiciary. The *Frankfurter Rundschau*, a paper that makes a point of reporting in detail on trials of Nazis (and of the failures to try them), said in an editorial that "it cannot be excluded that the French judges will find, like some of their German colleagues, that it is extremely difficult, after 40 years, to reconstruct the facts that actually occurred."

The Federal Republic has gone through the motions of maintaining its demand for the extradition of Barbie, and will present it in the light of developments in the trial in France. Germany, however, has "only" one case of murder on which it can try Barbie — and is relieved that a trial that would necessarily become dramatic will not reopen old wounds and burden the delicate relations between Germany and France.

Yad Vashem

ANTISEMITISM: HISTORY AND REALITY

YAD VASHEM TOGETHER WITH THE INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR STUDIES ON ANTISEMITISM, HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM

announces:

An additional Study Group on Antisemitism to parallel our ongoing Summer Course "Teaching the Holocaust" at Yad Vashem, July 8-29, 1983.

Many of the lectures will be held for all participants together, when they will hear such scholars as: Yehuda Bauer, Franklin Littell, Emil Fackenheim, Eliezer Berkovits, and others.

At other times, when the course on the Holocaust breaks up into separate discussion groups dealing with teaching problems, this Study Group will delve more deeply into the historical expressions of antisemitism and its manifestations today. Unlike the Holocaust course, which is designed to provide educators (formal and informal) with the historical context and with the didactic considerations of teaching the Holocaust, the Study Group on Antisemitism will deal with content, and is not designed to provide educational techniques.

For more information about either course, please contact: Ely Dlin, Department of Education, Yad Vashem, P.O.B. 3477, Jerusalem 91037, Israel.

Applications must be submitted by March 1, 1983.

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New town takes shape It's never too late to contribute

By LEA LEVAVI
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The first 400 families, numbering about 2,500 individuals, will move into the town of Immanuel (14 km. east of the 1967 border from Kfar Sava) this summer, representatives of the Kochav Hashomron company, which is building the new religious town, told reporters here last week.

Over 800 flats are currently being built (600 of which have been sold so far) and will be ready for occupation between this July and February 1984. When completed, within the next five years, Immanuel is expected to have 10,000 dwelling units. These will range from 78 sq.m. flats priced from \$30,000, to "build-your-own-home" villas, which may cost anywhere between \$150,000 and \$400,000.

The families moving to Immanuel tend to be large — an average of four children — and the company, in cooperation with the Ministry of

Housing, has developed a plan whereby large families otherwise unable to buy their own flat can do so for \$100 a month over 20 years. The company has opened an office in New York and has already attracted over 60 immigrant families. Offices are also expected to open in London, Antwerp and other European cities.

In addition to attracting potential olim, the New York office has negotiated for the purchase of electric trolleys, which will provide public transportation within the town.

Transportation to and from Immanuel is already being provided by the Dan bus cooperative and will become more frequent when people begin moving there.

The other purpose of the New York office is to attract investors who will build science-based industries in Immanuel. Progress has been made in this, the company representatives said, but details must wait until the deals are closed.



This partial view of construction at Immanuel clearly shows (from bottom to top) the increasing stages of readiness of flats. (IsraelSun)

Getting down to earth

TORA AND FLORA / Louis I. Rabinowitz

BEFORE proceeding to the upper spheres of the Celestial Apple, we have to dispose of the earthly one. There are no less than four locations in Israel mentioned in the Bible that include the word *tapuch* in their name. This clearly indicates that the tree and its fruit was widespread in Israel. Nevertheless, apart from a single mention of the *tapuch* in Joel 1:12, and the mention of a *tapuch*-shaped ornament in Proverbs 25:11 ("Like *tapuchim* of silver in a gold frame is a word fitly spoken"), it is only in the love song which is Canticles that the fruit comes into its own, and is mentioned no less than four times in its 117 verses.

"As a *tapuch* among the trees of the forest so is my beloved among the sons. Under its shadow I delighted to sit, and its fruit was sweet to my palate" (2:3).

Two verses later comes "Refresh me with *tapuchim* because I am lovesick," "the fragrance of thy nose is like that of *tapuchim*," and lastly, as the site of physical lovemaking, "Under the *tapuch* I roused thee, there thy mother was in travail with thee; there was she in travail and gave thee birth."

I have left the word *tapuch* untranslated, but it is beyond any reasonable doubt, but that it is the

apple. A suggestion by Tristram that it is the peach can be discounted by the fact that not only does the Mishna (Kilaim 1:4) enumerate the *afseck* (the peach) and the *tapuch* separately, but, as its Hebrew name rightly indicates, it was introduced in Israel from Persia during the Second Temple period. Nor can a suggestion by the Midrash that it is the *etrog* be accepted, since of the *etrog*, it can hardly be said that "its fruit is sweet to the palate!"

As Prof. Yehudah Feliks states, every single reference to the *tapuch*, both in the Bible and in rabbinical literature, points to the fact that the accepted identification with the apple is correct. The biblical references alone mention the sweetness of its fruit, its pleasant odour, its refreshing (the rabbis add therapeutic) qualities, and the shade it provides.

As to the last reference, the suggestion by Ibn Ezra that the word translated "travail" may mean "became pregnant" suggests it as the place for physical lovemaking, a far cry from the Celestial Orchard of Holy Apples.

Of all those qualities enumerated, the one which succeeds in raising it from earth to Heaven is, as we shall see next week, its fragrance.

"FORSAKE ME NOT"

FORSAKE ME NOT increased by \$45,978.91 during the past week to bring the total to \$1,582,206.43.

Donors were:

IS12,400 and \$5 raised by Mrs. Getrude Harvey Cohen, Jerusalem; IS1,000 — Mr. and Mrs. Markus — thank you for your wonderful work for those in need; IS10,000 from the Inner-Wheel of the Jerusalem Rotary; IS500 — Mr. Moshe Rudner; Risa and Maurice Afek; IS200 — Mr. and Mrs. Victor Cohen; "Minnie" — because we care; \$5 — Mr. and Mrs. Joe Cohen; my fee as the cohen in honour of the Piyon (Haben of Baby Guy, son of Cheryl and Victor Michalsky).

IS10 Jacob Omer.
\$100 in honour of the 100th birthday of Ann Goldblum, Pittsburgh, Pa., our grandmother and great-grandmother — Carl, Anna, Rikhaon, Hilie, and Nataniel, Ashkelon, Salfon Borden, Philadelphia, Pa.

IS2,100 in honour of the 90th birthday of Dr. Lucie Aronheim from her friends of mekatz Vera Sahmuns, Kfar Sava.
IS2,500 in memory of Moshe and Rosa Fegelman — L.S. and B.L., Jerusalem.
\$14 David Brodie, Jerusalem.
DM100 in honour of Matti's birthday — Rabbi Dr. N. Peter Levinson and Dr. Pina Nave Levinson, Heidelberg.
\$36 in memory of Jacob Anisfeld — Z.A., Los Angeles, Ca.

\$35 Adie and Theodore Heller, Tucson, Arizona.
\$27.23 Messianic Hebrew Christian Fellowship, Harrisburg, Pa.
IS1,000 Anonymous, Jerusalem. In loving memory of Louise Ehrenwerth Steitlin, London — Anonymous, Jerusalem.
IS760 Anonymous, Elmas.
IS740 Ludwig Rörstein, Tel Aviv.
IS700 Wendy Greenes, Bk'at Bet Hakerem.

IS18 in memory of my husband, Hyman Sachs Betty Sachs, Rehovot. In memory of my beloved father, Jack Stollman, Vicky Kohn, Jackson, N.J. Deborah and Jay Stepielman, Bronx, N.Y. in honour of the

3rd birthday of my father, Joseph Clyne, London — with love, Regina, Marty and grandchildren Adam, Shalom and Katie, Baltimore, Md. In memory of Irving Bulmash, Harry Kirach, Carol Horn Friedman — L.B. Koller, Charleston, W.V.

IS15 The Four Fish, Rochester, N.Y.
IS500 O. Somosen, Tel Aviv. Anonymous, Ramat Gan. In loving memory of my dear husband, parents and brothers — G. Schwarzman, Tel Aviv.
IS400 In memory of both our parents — Esther and Shabtai Rosene, Jerusalem.
IS360 in loving memory of Louis Frank — Shore family, Rehovot.
IS300 Anonymous. In loving memory of my dear husband Isaac and only son Eugen Socseany — Fanny Socseany, Tel Aviv. Anonymous, Kibbutz Kfar Harov. Anonymous, Jerusalem.

IS250 In memory of Moshe and Golda Rosenkranz of blessed memory — their daughter Hanna Ernst, Jerusalem.
\$5 In memory of the mother of Mr. Benny Hendel — Sheila and Marvin Yudefreund, Wallis, Tx.
IS150 In memory of my parents — Dora Kother, Haifa.
IS100 Joe and Hilda Tishler, Yokneam Illit, S. and E. Rosenstein. Instead of a birthday present for Mrs. Thelma Hirschfeld from Rolf Radbauer, Jerusalem; honouring Helen Rosen, Rolf Radbauer, Jerusalem.
IS18 Anonymous, Jerusalem.

"IT'S NEVER too late to give," is our reply to the "Sorry-we're-late" notes that often accompany contributions in these post-Hanukka days. And we'd like to remind readers that the Toy Fund and Forsake Me Not Fund remain open throughout the year.

The Lebanon

Tat-Aluf Lunz, 48,
Yusef Lunz, 48, head of the Gaza District civil administration, died on February 12 at Sheba Hospital after an illness.

Lunz was appointed military commander of the Gaza District in September 1981, and became head of the civil administration in December of the same year.

Lunz had filled various infantry command positions, up to battalion commander. He served as military governor of Tulikarm, Ramallah and Nablus, and was an instructor at the National Defence College. He is survived by his wife.

Sophie Adler, at 82,
Sophie Adler, long active in social work in Jerusalem, died in the capital on February 12.

Sophie Adler was born in Manchester in 1901 and came to Jerusalem in 1924 with her husband, the late professor Saul Adler, renowned as a parasitologist. She soon entered social work, chiefly with WIZO.

During World War II, she ran a servicemen's club in Jerusalem. Later, after intensive relief work during the War of Independence, she worked among immigrants in the Talpiaz *ma'abar* (transit camp). She leaves two sons, a daughter and several grandchildren.

COLOUR. — The TV evening news programme *Mabat* was broadcast in colour on one night last week for the first time since Israel TV was started nearly 15 years ago.

After a three-month trial, all Israeli-made programmes are to be in colour.

Campaign, however, was concluded at the end of 1982, and we ask donors to no longer send cheques addressed to this fund.

Last week's donations of IS16,396.52 brings the Toy Fund total to IS1,230,060.54. Please continue to help us help those in need and write out your cheques, clearly addressed, to the Toy Fund and/or to the "Forsake Me Not" Fund, and mail to The Jerusalem Post, POB 81, 91000 Jerusalem, Israel.

Last week's Toy Fund Donors were:

IS2,000 In honour of Helen Rossi's citation by the Municipality of Tel Aviv — Lea Orlitz, Givat.
IS2,000 Anonymous.
DM100 In honour of our new grandson Raz, son of Miri and Arnon Gluzman at Ma'ale Hahamisha, brother of Erez, Nir and Neta — Rabbi Dr. N. Peter Levinson and Dr. Pina Nave Levinson, Heidelberg.

\$25 In loving memory of Olga Berman from Ray and Harry Meisel, West Bloomfield, Mi. Mrs. Gene M. Martin, Texas.
IS600 A. Vitul, Kfar Monash.
D.F.150 Anonymous, Holland.

\$18 In honour of the birthdays of our oldest grandson, Elyselech, and of our daughter Sharon — Meyer and Edith Sheinfeld, Chicago, Ill. Students of the Temple Israel Religious School, Charleston, West Virginia.
\$10.50 Class Upper II, room 7, Temple Beth Shalom Religious School, Roslyn, N.Y.
\$10 In memory of the children who died in the Holocaust — Rose and Bill Isaacson, Chester, Pa.

IS360 In loving memory of Louis Frank — Shore family, Rehovot.
IS100 Joe and Hilda Tishler, Yokneam Illit.
IS100 Anonymous, in lieu of the change for the Jerusalem Post Archives service.
IS18 Anonymous, Jerusalem.

Prices up 8.5% in January
By AVI TEMKIN
Post Economic Reporter

The consumer price index for January soared by 8.5 per cent. The rise brings the cumulative rate of inflation to 14.5 per cent for the last two months.

Wage earners may get only minimal compensation for the rise because the December-January two-month period is not covered by the cost-of-living accord signed in December by Finance Minister Yoram Aridor, the Manufacturers Association president Eli Hurvitz and Histadrut secretary-general Yeroham Meshel.

Figures published by the Central Bureau of Statistics revealed that the index last month reached 736.6 points on an average 1980 baseline of 100.

The relatively high rate of inflation last month was markedly influenced by a steep rise in the price of fruits and vegetables, which rose

by 24.7 per cent, as a result of the especially cold weather.

An additional factor pushing the rate of inflation was housing, which rose by 10.1 per cent. Despite this rise, the bureau noted that the real prices of houses and flats — the price index of this item divided by the general CPI — has been decreasing during the last months, and is 5 per cent lower than its level one year ago.

The average price of a 2.5 - 3-room flat averaged IS1.3 million (\$36,000) during the last quarter of 1982, while a 3.5-4-room flat reached IS2m, on average. A 3-room flat in Tel Aviv averaged IS1.7m., and in Jerusalem averaged IS1.3m.

Reacting to the price increases in January, Meshel expressed concern and said that the 25 per cent increase in the price of fruits and vegetables affects mainly lower income groups.

Some budget relief for hospitals
Government hospitals that have run into severe budget problems will now "be able to pay their overdrafts," a Health Ministry spokeswoman said last week.

She was referring to the IS1.9 billion allocated to the ministry in the budget adjustment approved last week by the Knesset Finance Committee.

The ministry will start transferring the funds immediately to ease some of the pressure on the growing number of government hospitals that have reportedly overrun their annual budgets and found themselves threatened with water and electricity cutoffs or facing

shortages of medicines and supplies. Before the new funds were approved, Rambam Hospital director Professor Yosef Brandes told the Knesset Labour and Social Affairs Committee that the hospital's annual budget is "finished."

The hospital is unable to purchase medicines and supplies, and cannot pay its telephone, water and electric bills, Brandes said in a cable to committee chairman MK Menahem Porush.

Porush sharply criticized Brandes for waiting three months before notifying the committee of Rambam's financial distress.

ENTERTAINMENT

SEXTA has broken up, but Iris Shemi has a new group, directed by her father and including Haim Piniri and Aharon Sykas. "Banana" will make its national debut with David Kriboshe's song "Madonna" at the Eurovision competition March 15.

PURIM is coming. After a 14-year break, the Tel Aviv municipality will once again begin celebrating the holiday with an annual *Adloyada*. It will take the form of a song programme and carnival to be performed 10 times in the Yed Elishu Stadium, directed by Zedi Zarfaty and written by Ehud Manor.

Among those appearing in the first half will be Tzipi Shavit, Hava Albarstein, Illy Gorlitzky, Avi Toledano, Gidi Gov and Yardena Arazi. The carnival in the second half will have 100 dancers and several large orchestras.

Also during Purim, which falls on the last day of the month, *Planter*,

Purim carnival makes a comeback

the Man from Outer Space will have its premiere. The musical programme, with 16 participants, was written and arranged by Efraim Sidon.

THE ANNUAL O What a Wonderful Jazz, presented by impresario Yehuda Taik in conjunction with Bank Discount, begins this week. From the U.S. comes pianist Mike Garson, who will be accompanied by Shelby Flint. From Europe, the Globe Unity. They will perform together with five Israelis under the musical direction of Yaroslav Yakobovitch. There will only be four concerts this year, in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Eilat, Haifa.

Garson will perform additionally at the Tel Aviv Hilton and the Kfar Sava Cultural Centre.

BEIT LESSIN'S Yaldel Hakrach, the story of the

BETWEEN ACTS

Joan Borsten

Yemenite immigration, has just celebrated its 150th performance. Written and arranged by Dan Almagor, directed by Zedi Zarfaty, the show stars Dina Golan, Edna Goren, Nissim Garna, Rahele Haim, Itzik Okev and Netanel Okev. The programme covers 100 years since the first Yemenites arrived in the Holy Land, bringing with them unique songs and culture, and focuses upon their contribution to the Jewish State, especially in film and entertainment.

THE NEXT PROJECT of Moshe Mizrahi, who directed *I Love You Rosa*, *The House on Chelouche Street*

and Oscar-winning *Madame Rosa*, will be Jack Elner's *The Survivors*. Elner is a Holocaust survivor who wrote a book about his childhood experiences in the Warsaw Ghetto. The script was written by Mizrahi together with Hollywood scenarist Abby Mann. Budgeted at \$8m., the movie will be filmed in Poland and East Germany beginning in May.

AMERICAN-ISRAELI TV producer Yale Roe has just won his third straight award at the New York International Film Festival with his documentary, *Teddy Kollek's Jerusalem*, a 30-minute portrait of both the mayor and the city, with cameo appearances by Danny Kaye, Isaac Stern, Richard Chamberlain, Perry Como and others.

BRAZILIAN singer Nazare Pereira will give six performances in Israel beginning next week. Born in a village far up the Amazon River, she recorded her first single, "O Chero Da Carolina" in April 1978 and that November released her first LP, which combines music of North Brazil and the Nordeste, which is different from the Brazilian music best known in the West.

ISRAELI MUSICIAN and composer, Yosef Tal, is one of three musicians who will share this year's Wolf Foundation prize for the arts.

The others are U.S. pianist Vladimir Horowitz and French composer Olivier Messiaen. This year is the first that the foundation will give its arts award to a musician. The \$100,000 prize will be shared equally among the three winners.



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"I WANT YOU," says my son. He is only two-and-a-half, and this is his very first sentence. Something to marvel over. But we are talking by phone, long-distance, and his mother has no intention of coming home.

He is in Jerusalem and dear old Mum, fighting off guilt, is in Netanya, studying Hebrew for a month at Ulpán Akiva. Under the layer of guilt is one of shame. Twelve years in the country and she still can't read a newspaper in the language.

Under the shame — if you can get that far, and it is not easy — is anger. Probably any working mother, who day after day finds her life drawn and quartered by work, children, shopping and washing, not to mention the thousand etceteras, builds up anger inside.

For this one, there is an added factor. Her husband is a television reporter. That means he is rarely home for supper or to put the children to bed, and that for too many years, she has been identified socially and always introduced as the wife of you-know-who. How angry this made her, nobody knew — including herself.

Last summer, you-know-who studied Arabic at Ulpán Akiva. He suggests then that Mum do something about her Hebrew, go to the ulpan for a month. Who will take care of the children, she asks. I will, he says. It should happen to him, she thinks, and starts making plans for a sabbatical leave from work.

Meanwhile, she talks about the importance of really being able to speak the language and to read it. A solidly respectable aspiration, almost laughable in the modesty of its target.

Who will take care of the kids for

Mother gets 'leave'

a month is the first response of everyone at work, except for one woman who says, "Good idea." The environment was not, as they say in America, supportive.

Ulpán Akiva offers courses in spoken Arabic and Hebrew. The Hebrew course runs from one month to five, depending on your ignorance and your stamina. The ulpan, a collection of bungalows, sits on the grounds of the Green Beach Hotel, about 20 minutes by bus from Netanya. If you choose to live-in, you have access to a pool, tennis courts, sauna and the Mediterranean.

The winter day I arrived, it rained and everybody went to bed early since there was no electricity.

That's the way it is with adventures — you always get more and less than you bargained for. The teaching staff at Ulpán Akiva is impressive; everyone positively glowed with satisfaction about how much he or she was learning. There are lectures from visiting experts and organized sing-alongs, folk-dancing and afternoon coffee, if you go in for organized anything.

I was more interested in what seemed like a secret life. Afternoon naps, solo outings to downtown Netanya and the soaring effect of being accountable to absolutely no one for your time. What a high.

Another factor — which sounds silly, but isn't — was that every night there was a deep, super-hot bath to enjoy. A pampering of the flesh and cleansing of the spirit.

This bath business is also a function of finding time for yourself. Suddenly I did. The hotel towels seemed magical. The calluses

A month away from the family can open up new vistas, finds SASHA SADAN.

produced by Israeli summer and sandals disappeared. I began pushing back the cuticle on my fingernails, and this led to an investment in and use of hand-cream, and even make-up.

By force of circumstance, I observed how my room-mates dressed. None of my whatever-is-hand-dressed items. I took a crack at it. There's no reason why those nitwitted women's magazines can't sometimes get a handle on truth, and when you look better, you feel better, etc.

I had two room-mates. Jackie comes from England and is a reporter for Kol Israel's English programme. She and I fell into ex-cruciatingly personal conversations about the everlasting battle to love and be loved.

Shehinda is an Arab, a high-school teacher of Arabic. At 39, she is just surviving a tragedy. Her husband of eight years had died of a heart attack. No children. What did your husband do, Jackie asks.

Shehinda takes time to answer. She might be searching for the English, but she is just reaching for the important truth. He liked to laugh and he liked to garden, she says.

A revelation of an answer. Shehinda, it seems, does not

automatically think of people in terms of what they do, meaning a professional tag or one's position in the marketplace, one's job and title. How unlike me and the people I usually meet — which ties in with the major importance of Ulpán Akiva as an institution, besides the Hebrew and the Arabic.

It's a place where Jews and Arabs get to meet on neutral grounds, each facing a foreign language, and since you study, eat and live together, you can get beyond the exchanging-polite-smiles stage. I was all for this since I think that most Israelis (meaning Jews) don't see the close to 700,000 Arabs who are bona fide citizens of this country. Even if you argue that they are not second-class citizens, you leave yourself wide open to the charge that you speak from a "they" and "us" approach.

It's that kind of mental discrimination that betrays the speaker, no matter how liberal his or her sentiments. The few Arabs I had talked with, and the Jews I know who do have relatively intimate contact with Israeli Arabs, all seem to take discrimination by Jews as a given fact. You can justify this on some very real grounds — security, cultural differences, the attitudes of Israelis who come from Arab countries, etc. But it seems to me that the discrimination doesn't stop there.

Shehinda is not an Israeli Arab. She comes from the territories. She was born and grew up in Jerusalem and lives less than a two-minute walk from my flat. But if Ulpán Akiva hadn't made the introduction, we never would have met.

Not that I liked all the Arabs I met, or all the Jews. The ulpan drew people from more than a dozen countries. A fascinating mix.

Everybody lives with a wall of social expectations around him or her, and it's not those that block you in. The really hard ones to crack through are the ones you put up yourself, or so I saw, in one flash of insight, when I exploded over a bowl of soup one day at lunch. Much to the surprise of the other soup-eaters, I started railing about being the wife of you-know-who, and how much I hated that tag.

"I'm me," I exploded, not that any of the soup-eaters was interested. A few more hot baths and I realized that the only person who identified me solely as dear old Mum was yours truly.

The ulpan changed that with the sheer pleasure of learning, of using your head. Forgot about that.

You can forget about or set aside a lot of things once you get back into the pressure cooker, the drawn-and-quartered life of a working mother. Unless you remind yourself.

For me, at first, there was some help. The children not only survived without me, but got to know you-know-who better, and they were proud of me for studying their mother tongue.

That sort of thing fades. There are many promises to myself that I haven't been able to keep. Some, I know, will have to wait. But that is an attitude to fight.

I put off bathing the kids for a day, turn on the hot water tap, pull out a bar of fragrant soap and lather up with the grandest plans, not for when the kids grow up, but for now. That's living.

seven. A year later, their daughter Yael was born.

David was born in 1978. Five weeks later it was confirmed that he suffered from biliary atresia, the total absence of the bile duct leading from the liver to the gall bladder.

At seven weeks, David underwent surgery at Hadassah Hospital, Ein Karem, to reconstruct the damaged duct. The operation is completely successful in 50 per cent of the cases, but with David, only partial results were achieved. By the time he was two, the doctors said he had only a few months to live.

David confounded them. Despite the yellowish cast to his skin of jaundice and his extremely swollen belly, common to his condition, David, an intelligent and alert child, is a great favourite in the kindergarten he attends.

SEVERAL weeks ago, David's condition began to deteriorate rapidly, and his doctor at Hadassah, Prof. Medad Schiller, suggested that the family turn to Dr. Starzl in Pittsburgh for a liver transplant.

Starzl agreed, and the Horowitz family will be on "standby" in Pittsburgh, waiting for a suitable donor to be found through the national computerized donor bank with which Starzl is connected. This could take months, since the donor liver must come from a child close to David's age for it to fit into the small cavity.

To help defray some of the considerable cost of the operation, a non-profit organization has been set up in Beersheba, headed by Mayor Eliahu Nawi's wife, Bruria, and including B-G University rector Prof. David Wolf and local Rotary Club member Meir Goldstein.

Child's fight

By Margery Greenfeld / Post Reporter



FIVE-YEAR-OLD David Horowitz of Beersheba is living under a "death sentence" — and if his dis-eased and barely functioning liver is not replaced very soon with a healthy transplant, the boy will die.

"David is Israel's first child liver-transplant candidate, and the only place in the world now performing this operation is Pittsburgh," says his father, Yigal.

The cost of the operation — which lasts 20 hours and involves a team of 60 doctors, nurses, technicians and other medical personnel — and the subsequent 100 days of hospitalization could exceed \$120,000.

The Horowitzs have appealed to the Health Ministry for help, but have so far received only a letter approving the trip as "necessary for medical purposes," and no indication of whether financial aid is forthcoming.

Ministry director-general Prof. Baruch Modan told *The Jerusalem Post* last week that there is presently nothing that the ministry can do, apart from issuing the official letter of approval. This makes the medical expenses deductible from income tax, entitles the family to a 50 per cent reduction on flight tickets from El Al and allows for the participation of the family's health insurance plan in covering some of the costs.

The family's sick fund, Kupat Holim Meuhedet, has agreed to cover hospitalization costs at the prevailing rates in Israel — currently about \$100 a day. But current U.S. rates could run as much as 10 times that much — from \$700 to \$1,000 a day, depending on the type of care necessary.

When asked why the cost of operations abroad has been fully

THIS WILL not help the Horowitz family, which is leaving on February 27 for Pittsburgh, the home of Dr. Thomas Starzl, the "father" of the liver transplant operation. Over the past decade, he has performed hundreds of these delicate and complex transplants — first in Denver, and for the past two years at the University of Pittsburgh Medical Centre.

Starzl is the only surgeon in the world performing liver transplants on young children. So Yigal Horowitz, an associate professor of physics at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, and his wife, Atara, a doctor of chemistry who works at the nuclear research centre in Dimona, have arranged to take a sabbatical year in Pittsburgh.

The couple, after trying unsuccessfully for several years to have children, adopted Tamar, now nine, and two years later, Nomi, now

BUSINESS AND FINANCE

The council of Hevrat Ovdim, which formulates economic and financial policy for the Histadrut labour federation's vast holdings, gave the impression at its recent meeting at Kibbutz Shefayim of being out of contact with the main economic problem facing the country — its gradual change, during the past few years, from being a nation of increasing production and exports, to one of growing consumption and imports.

True, at the Council meeting there was a sharp polarization of the extreme left, which came out strongly against Solel Boneh, or any other Histadrut firm, building in the administered areas; and of the extreme right, which favoured this policy which would help the settlers to "dig in."

But was the government's policy in the West Bank, and Solel Boneh's building there (and thus avoiding firing its workers) anything more than a side-issue, even if an important one?

The major problem is to reverse the trend from consumption to production, and to renew the "financial spring" which made this production possible in the past. The source of growth was always the central authority, which in the broadest sense means the Jewish community, both here and abroad.

The government, at least until the Begin administration took over, served as a planning and allocation medium, for all sectors — private, kibbutz, government, Histadrut — of the economy, trying to distribute the funds it managed to raise within Israel and those which flowed in

Consumerism takes the lead

OPINION
Macabee Dean

At any rate, the cornerstones of the country's economy — water, energy, communications, the Dead Sea Works, agriculture, transport, El Al, Zim, and so on, were, with very few exceptions, built with government help and urging.

One can even go so far as to point out that the main banking networks, were built by Zionist groups not by individuals or families (with one exception) within the framework of a "free market."

The Zionist Organization established the framework for Bank Leumi; the Histadrut for Bank Hapoalim, and the Mizrahi Organization for the Mizrahi Bank. And the First International Bank was established due to the efforts of the late Pinhas Sapir. The only exception is the Discount Bank.

Even such purely "capitalistic" enterprises as Polgat, Gabor, Osem, Argaman, and others received substantial help from the central authorities, although at the time they received it, these authorities were undoubtedly "socialist" in outlook. But the authorities also placed growth and production above ideology.

But all this changed with the advent of the Begin administration, which flew the flag of liberalization,

less government intervention, of letting "free market forces" replace help from the central authorities.

The main result is that in the past few years there have been very few new enterprises built.

Once the government tightly controlled the value of the currency, and kept it fairly stable. But former Finance Minister Simha Erlich freed the Israeli currency from government control, launching an inflationary spiral whose end is not yet in sight. For the "free market forces" could not act: When it came to Israeli currency they simply did not exist.

The world financial capitals, Zurich, London, Frankfurt, New York, Tokyo, and so on, simply did not recognize Israeli currency; they did not deal in it.

And Israelis, seeing the value of their printed money fade away, demanded safeguards other than the financial underground. So foreign currency accounts — allowing Israelis to keep current accounts in dollars, sterling, Swiss francs, etc., became a way of life. It is doubtful if the citizen of any other country can keep a current account in foreign currency.

The Begin administration's substitute for help by the central authorities has been the Tel Aviv

Stock Exchange, which has proved to be fickle. Money has indeed been raised on the stock market, but only small quantities have flowed into building the means of production. As a matter of fact, in the last few years Israeli society has considered the stock market as a national casino and lottery.

Opposition to the present government policy of letting things work out by themselves could come from several main sources.

The Manufacturers' Association is one, but it is doubtful if it has any representatives in the Knesset. Few private industrialists would claim that Gideon Patt, Minister of Industry and Trade, speaks for them. And we have been, witnessing for some years the strange phenomenon of the "capitalists" yearning for the return of socialism, cursing the present set-up where they have to scrounge around for the means to expand production — even though the stock market is available.

But the council of Hevrat Ovdim, which should have taken up the banner of re-introducing governmental help to build the means of production, was woefully silent on this point at its last meeting. The kibbutz industries are facing harsh times; the number of new plants being put up this year is minimal. Stagnation has set in.

Instead of fighting the government, the Council (and of course

the Histadrut) started out to compete with the government. The Histadrut is trying to buy the voters by competing with Aridor in promising reductions in the consumers' cooperative chain (Zarchaniot), by trying to win the workers over by promising a cut in profits, and so on. There is nothing wrong with all this, but it will not help Israeli society to change from a consumption to a production footing.

And the strangest thing about the Likud administration's policy and the "free market" is that it does not believe in it itself. True, there are a few governmental companies who have shares on the stock exchange, such as the Dead Sea Works, the Electric company, and so on. But there are scores of government companies which are not, and which must apply to the central authorities for help, for they know how little they can raise on the free market. For example, the government is sponsoring the rebirth of El Al, but it is not placing its shares on the stock market where investors can pick up the burden.

And even Koor, the Histadrut-affiliated industrial giant, which has a few companies on the stock market, and which plans to place a few more, has little faith in this method to finance its growth in production. At present, it is eating up its reserves at a rapid rate.

At its recent council meeting, Hevrat Ovdim should have brought out the problem of "consumption today versus production tomorrow," it failed to do so.

Users happy with solar heaters

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Israel leads the world in the use of solar heaters, with two-thirds of the population heating their water with this method, according to a survey conducted by the Energy Ministry.

Most of the rest of the population heats their water with electricity. The survey found that 72 per cent of those who have solar heaters expressed a high degree of satisfaction with them, 22 per cent were simply satisfied, and about 5 per cent were not at all satisfied.

Some 20,000 solar heaters were installed each year until 1977, but for the next five years the number jumped to about 80,000 a year. The record was set in 1980, with 100,000 heaters installed.

Sixty per cent of those with solar heaters use the 120 litre tank, 30 per cent the 150 litre tank, and the other 10 per cent larger ones ranging up to 200 litres.



Roofscape of a Lod housing estate.

(Rubinger)

Threat to pottery factories

By DAVID RUDGE
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — Between 60 and 70 workers at the Na'aman pottery factory near Acre and about 20 employees at its sister plant, Lapid, in Jaffa, are to be dismissed after Passover, the management has warned.

The proposed cutbacks, representing 20 per cent of the Labour force at the factories, were said to be due to a drop in sales caused by the influx of cheap imports from the Far East and Eastern Europe.

The imports, which are flooding the market at "dumping prices," are seriously threatening the survival of the two local firms, general manager Yosef Givoli told reporters.

He said the factories could compete with goods brought in from Common Market firms, but not with the cheaper and inferior products imported from countries like China, Korea, Taiwan and Rumania.

It was "insulting" that a few importers were getting rich at the risk of the jobs of the 420 workers employed by Na'aman and Lapid.

Na'aman, Israel's largest pottery firm which manufactures fine porcelain gift and tableware, and Lapid, which specializes in hand-painted stoneware and crockery, are members of the Histadrut-affiliated Koor ceramics group.

Givoli said that annual production of the two companies was about \$7.5 million, while foreign imports totalled nearly \$18 million.

Research into skin illness

By JOSEPH MORGENTHAU
Post Finance Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Biotechnological research here is receiving a major boost with the successful conclusion of a tax-advantaged private placement, which will provide \$7.8 million in R & D funds to InterPharm's subsidiary, Inter-Yeda. This was announced recently by Israel Makov, InterPharm's president, in the presence of Prof. Arye Lavie, chief scientist of the Ministry of Industry and Trade.

Foreign investors will provide over the period of the four-year research programme a total of \$4.3m. Lavie explained that his office will provide \$3.5m. in loans for a period of 12 years at highly advantageous interest rates.

"The participants in the private placement are mostly individual investors from the U.S.," Makov said. Prof. Michael Raveh, head of the

virology department at the Weizmann Institute, explained that considerable progress has been made in producing interferon-based salves which are used in the treatment of herpes. Positive results have been achieved at the Sheba Medical Centre.

Some 5 per cent of the U.S. population is affected by the herpes skin disease and this high rate of incidence gives interferon-based preparations a considerable market potential.

InterPharm Laboratories is a public company and some 25 per cent of its shares are held by the public as a result of a share offering on the American Over-the-Counter market a year ago. InterPharm is a member of the multinational Ares-Serono group of companies. Its production, research and office facilities are located in the science-based industrial park known as Kiryat Weizmann.

TEL AVIV STOCK EXCHANGE											
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Yearly high and low figures are based on the exchange rate of IS15.60 to the dollar.											
High	Low	Prices in U.S. dollars		On	On	High	Low	Prices in U.S. dollars		On	On
1.1,81 to 31.12,81		(IS36.93-91)		18.2,83	17.2,83	1.1,81 to 31.12,81		(IS36.93-91)		18.2,83	17.2,83
.12	.05	BANKS		.05	.05	3.97	1.92	INDUSTRY		7.03	7.36
.11	.04	Leumi		.06	.06	.12	.06	Alliance "B" (H)		.29	.11
.16	.08	Union		.12	.12	.12	.06	Amer. Int. Paper Mills		.38	.51
3.38	1.24	Hapoalim Reg.		1.27	1.29	.02	.01	Argamon (H) - Textiles Ordinary Reg.		.01	.01
.49	.13	Mizrahi Reg. (H)		.13	.13	.46	.15	Atlati - Textiles		.17	.18
.40	.20	NORTGAGE BANKS		.22	.25	.24	.06	Dubek (H) - Figures (H) Reg.		.01	.01
1.08	.38	General Mortgage Reg. (H)		1.32	1.37	.16	.03	El Al (H) Reg. - Translators		.01	.01
.37	.38	INSURANCE		.37	.38	10.86	3.17	Electricity (H) Reg.		.17	.18
.23	.29	Aryeh (H)		.53	.57	2.63	1.09	Edin		.17	.18
.30	.25	Hapoalim Reg. (H)		.43	.49	.15	.06	Enat		.21,31	21.83
.40	.38	Sahar Reg. (H)		.19	.16	1.43	.63	Enat (H) Reg.		.10	.11
.07	.03	SERVICES		.15	.08	.07	.02	Enat (H) Reg. - Figures (H) Reg.		.54	.56
.26	.24	Odeh Fuel Reg.		.16	.16	.14	.03	Tea Pharms. (H) Reg.		.35	.35
3.20	1.23	REAL ESTATE AND CITRUS		1.55	1.32	.08	.03	INVESTMENT COMPANIES		.05	.06
.15	.05	Africa-Israel		.12	.12	11.98	4.15	Leumi		11.83	12.48
.26	.08	I.L.D.C.		.27	.31	.24	.18	Discount Registered (H)		.27	.31
1.11	.43	Meuhedet Citrus		.38	.34	2.63	.88	Export Investment (H) Reg.		.14	.14
3.40	.04	Property and Building (H)		.31	.27	.19	.02	Oz Investment		.44	.47
		Radio (Preferred) (H)									

FALASHA REPORT 'SWEEPED FACTS UNDER THE RUG'

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — A growing number of Jews in the United States have become involved in the "American Association for Ethiopian Jews." From their studies and visits to the Ethiopian hinterland villages in which Jews reside comes a vastly different report from your recent one, "Falashas reported to be living well in Ethiopia." One cannot possibly "meet freely" with the Ethiopian Jews (or anyone else for that matter) inside that country, particularly since the *fact-finders* described in the article travelled under the aegis of "the Ethiopian State Tourist Corporation" and its own "escort."

The statement that "We found no signs of hunger or extreme poverty, and heard nothing about indiscriminate torture or mass murders" is fatuous at best. Did these *fact-finders* expect to be shown evidence of what is known to be true?.... That, indeed, the situation for Jews in Ethiopia is very grave. It should be remembered that Theresienstadt was once shown off as an example of how good conditions were in concentration camps.

With all the normalcy the committee sought and found, it still remains evident that certain things cannot be swept under the rug: "ORT has been outlawed and expelled," and despite claims by Ethiopian government representatives that "Falashas are genuine Ethiopians just as we are," the

reference, "Falasha," is still in use. Its meaning, "Outsider," should be evidence enough that the Jewish people who live in that land are not considered part of the mainstream. **ELVERA HERBSTMAN**
New York.

Sir, — It is fortunate that the four Israeli community workers who recently returned from visiting Falasha villages in Ethiopia did not visit Soviet Jews in 1971 soon after the Leningrad trials. If they had made such a visit, we might have witnessed a press conference held at the Israeli branch of the World Jewish Congress where we might have been told that they had been able to meet freely with Soviet Jews, had found "no manifestations of anti-Semitism and... had heard nothing about indiscriminate torture or mass murder." They could have told us that they had found Jews in the civil service and that the economic state of the Soviet Jews was "reasonable." Their Intourist guides would probably have told them that Soviet Jews were considered Soviet citizens like everyone else.

Perhaps the four Israelis would have reported that 20 Soviet Jews were being held on charges of trying to leave the country illegally, by attempting to hijack an airplane. Would one of the community workers also have added that the arrest of the 20 "had nothing to do

with their religious affiliation" since all Soviets regardless of creed are forbidden to emigrate?

If conditions are so good for Ethiopian Jews in Ethiopia, perhaps someone can explain why 3,000 Jews have fled the country and languish as refugees in nearby countries. Why were the Israeli visitors' handed letters "by persons with relatives in Israel expressing the wish to join their families" there?

The plight of the Ethiopian Jewish community is the shame of the Jewish world. Such trips and such reports add to our collective shame. Do we Jews never learn?

BERT SILVER
Vice president,
American Association for Ethiopian Jews
Potomac, Maryland.

Sir, — The plight of the Falashas has aroused some interest in the press recently. Reports of hunger, privation, and persecution are not good publicity for the government of Ethiopia. So the Ethiopian State Tourist Corporation coordinated and escorted four Israeli community workers on a tour of Ethiopia. It is truly unfortunate that these social workers were unable to see beyond the blinders that they wore at the behest of their Ethiopian escort.

DR. JAY LUGER
Rego Park, N.Y.

WEST BANK INTEGRAL PART OF ISRAEL



Winston Churchill... "the salami method"

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Being a pragmatic person, I have always agreed wholeheartedly with the pragmatic views held by Mr. Shmuel Katz. However, he is mistaken when he accuses Henry Kissinger of introducing the salami method of shrinking Israel.

Winston Churchill was the author of this invidious process, albeit with good intentions. In 1921, Churchill proposed a division of Palestine with the Jordan River as the bisector. He proceeded to obtain an agreement between the Emir Faisal for the Hashemite Arabs, Chaim Weizmann, Vladimir Jabotinsky and Nahum Sokolow for the Jews, and himself for the projected mandatory power.

Although this was in contravention of clause 5 of the Mandate, the convention was signed before the Mandate was implemented, and the commissioners of the League of Nations reluctantly raised no formal objections since they were assured by Churchill that this was the only formula for peace between the Jews and the Arabs. Five-sixths of Palestine were cut off and handed to the Arabs in exchange for the promise of peaceful relations. This was the only partition plan agreed to by all parties and implemented. Of course, in pursuit of Greater Syria comprising all of the old Ottoman Empire, the Arabs promptly reneged on their promises.

If agreements, conventions, treaties, pacts and promises are to be capriciously nullified and dis-

MICHAEL ELKINS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I read with great interest the recent interview with Michael Elkins on the occasion of his retirement as a correspondent. Unfortunately, there was no mention of Elkins' excellent book about a post-World War II Jewish revenge group titled "Forged in Fury."

It was published in 1971 as an original paperback in the United States, but it ran afoul of the American-Jewish Establishment because it portrays Chaim Weizmann as tacitly approving a plan to poison the water supply of a large German city. The plan was foiled and the quietus was put on the band of avengers by the Hagana, which did not want to divert resources and manpower from the main struggle.

I recall that when I was with ABC News in the late 70's, there was a fraternity of Jews who often discussed "Forged in Fury" and what an effective film it would make. Some enquiries were made of Elkins, but he seemed less than enthusiastic about pursuing the possibilities of a feature film. At one point he explained that he was anxious to keep faith with his informants by protecting their true identities.

To this day it is difficult to know just who actually belonged to the revenge group.

Anyone who reads "Forged in Fury" will realize that, had he chosen to write fiction, Elkins would have become a major Jewish writer. I feel it is important in describing Elkins' career to mention "Forged in Fury" and I apologize in advance to the author if I have erred in any of the details.

NOEL MARKRIDGE
Ra'anana.

the People of Israel and all mankind.

May it be God's will that their noble action will bring about fulfillment of the prophetic promise: "Zion shall be redeemed with judgement and those that return to her... with righteousness." (Isaiah 1:27)

DAVID HARTMAN
Jerusalem, and 20 other signatories

'THE GLORY OF JEWISH JUSTICE'

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — We, fellows of the Shalom Hartman Institute for Advanced Studies in Torah, wish to express our deep appreciation for the distinguished members of the National Commission of Inquiry for having revealed the glory of Jewish justice and morality and sanctified the great Name of God in the eyes of

'AN UNRECOGNIZED RIGHTEOUS GENTILE'

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky was perhaps the only high-ranking religious leader, who during the World War II, was courageous enough to address the leaders of Nazi Germany in protest against the annihilation of Jews. He saved hundreds of Jews both in his residence in Lvov and in monasteries of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. But he still goes unrecognized in Israel as a Righteous of the World.

The first attempt to obtain recognition of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky as a Righteous of the World was made about 20 years ago by Rabbi David Kahane who was saved by Sheptytsky during the World War II.

Since then, material relating to the activities of Sheptytsky was published in many places. Full and authoritative evidence was presented in the memoirs of David Kahane and Kurt Levin, son of the former chief rabbi of Lvov. A petition by the Association for Jewish-Ukrainian Contacts to recognize Metropolitan Sheptytsky a Righteous of the World has been signed by over 1,000 people, both in Israel and in the U.S.A.

HOW TO COUNTER VICIOUS PROPAGANDA

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I returned a short time ago from the annual conference of Directors of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations. The major item on the agenda of the conference was the problem of how best to present the case for Israel and for Zionism to counteract the vicious propaganda being spread by Arab and pro-Arab forces on American campuses.

That Hillel units on many a campus in the United States "have generally failed to attract the Jewish student and to play a role in the vital assignment of combatting hostile Arab propaganda," as charged by Yeshayahu Sussman in his letter of January 27, is a canard which should be laid to rest. Hillel, like other Jewish educational agencies, has its successes and failures, but of all such agencies, there is none which is more devoted than Hillel to seeking and presenting the truth about Jewish tradition and Jewish life and to making its platforms available to all varieties of responsible and committed Jewish opinion.

Concerning Mr. Sussman's charge that "many Hillel rabbis are not only unsympathetic to Israel government policies, but are, unfortunately, openly hostile to them," I maintain that Hillel directors have the same right as anyone else to be

critical of and even hostile to the policies of the Israel government. But let it be clearly understood that, by the very nature of our profession, we are pledged to open Hillel forums to the maximum possible cross-section of views on all issues.

From my own knowledge of the behaviour of my colleagues and on the basis of surveys of programmes held in Hillel Foundations throughout the U.S., I claim that Hillel directors are doing their jobs in keeping with their educational commitment.

Concerning the substantive question of how to advance the Israeli case among American students, it might be of some help if all of the busybodies who have the answer were to cooperate with Hillel which, with all its limitations, remains the most effective agency for Jewish education on campus. It would be of even greater help if Israel as a whole were to become the kind of state we all hoped it would be and which all devoted Jews continue to pray for. The case for imperfection is bound to be imperfect.

RABBI JACK J. COHEN
Director of B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations in Israel
Jerusalem.

MOVIE ORDEAL

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Last week, I paid \$100 to see a movie here in Jerusalem. There was no heat in the theatre and the brightness of the picture on the screen slowly dimmed to brown almost every five minutes until the projectionist happened to notice the screen, or we in the audience would start whistling. This is by no means unusual.

In contrast, I can go to Tel Aviv and, for the same money, sit on comfortable seats in a warm theatre and watch a brightly lit screen.

If the motion picture theatre owners here in Jerusalem complain about poor attendance maybe it is because people don't want to pay to be uncomfortable. Sitting home and watching colour TV in Jerusalem certainly beats going to the movies!

PHILIP MARMAROS
Jerusalem.

BENNY MUSKIN
Press and Media Relations,
The Hebrew University
Jerusalem.

PLO DEMANDS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — The Jerusalem Post recently published an Associated Press story about the demands of the PLO for the exchange of eight Israelis, one of the demands being the "return of the Palestine Research Centre in Beirut which was carried to Hebrew University."

The Hebrew University wishes to state that it has never received, nor does it possess, any such material.

RABBI ELIYAHU
The Hebrew University
Jerusalem.

BARBIE EXTRADITION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — The decision of the Bolivian government to return Klaus Barbie Altmann to French justice deserves gratitude and respect. May other governments of South America follow that example.

HENRI ZEILIG
Kfar Sava.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1983

The phantom of unity

SOME of the country's politicians are once again talking about a national unity government. The talk derives more from wind than reality. But it is not difficult to decipher some of the motives.

In Labour there are those who fear the continuous erosion of the party's political standing while in opposition.

The obvious dangers to the coherence of the polity have now frightened even some quarters in the Likud and the coalition. They seek a way back from the abyss to which they have driven.

At the same time some of the smaller parties find the call for a national unity government a popular platform. It is an appeal to patriotism, without the trappings of extremist nationalism, to which patriotism has descended in the minds of so large a section of the public — both Ashkenazi and Sephardi.

There are also more mundane motives like calculations of personal political advantage. And there are larger pragmatic calculations, like the government's political reluctance to engage in unpopular economic reform which could redound to the benefit of Labour in opposition, or the desire to share the fallout for the misadventure in Lebanon.

None of these reasons, however, commend themselves to Mr. Begin. Having surmounted the crisis of the Kahan Commission's findings, he apparently feels he can slay the course of a full second term.

Thus, according to his spokesmen, he would entertain even a suggestion of a unity government only after Labour would reverse its official position and initiate the request. In other words make Labour eat crow and perhaps split at the seams, for a mirage.

And Labour, for its part, wants the first move to come from him.

So, like last year, when similar noises about the need for a unity government were heard, there is smoke but no fire. The reasons are plain. The country is fractured down the middle. Inevitably this prompts yearnings for unity. But the same fracture also prevents it. The yearnings are simply an index of the nation's travail.

But as long as Mr. Begin is in power that travail and that fracture will exist. For its sources lie in his determined policy to make permanent Israeli rule in the West Bank, and his historic indignation against the Labour Movement. He has escalated this twin passion into a virtual definition of Zionism and patriotic zeal, igniting ethnic division, inciting fanaticism, transforming democratic argument into a battle of absolutes.

The resulting polarization in Israeli society cannot be ameliorated by conventional political maneuver. It requires a historic understanding of the legitimate limits of political debate and political division.

Mr. Begin has yet to demonstrate such understanding. But it is he who presides over the political process. The responsibility is his: the consequences will affect us all.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1983

Ducking the issue

THE CHIEF RABBINATE is in dire need of radical reform, and the interior and religious affairs minister, Yosef Burg, came up with a bright idea to that effect last month. Let the functions of president of the Supreme Rabbinical Court and of chairman of the Chief Rabbinate Council be permanently separated, he said. And let elections to both posts be held without regard to communal affiliation.

To be sure, there was a fly in the ointment. Dr. Burg's proposal would have allowed the two incumbents, Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren and Sephardi Chief Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, to run again for the posts they now occupy, the one for president of the Supreme Rabbinical Court and the other for chairman of the Chief Rabbinate Council. This would have required an amendment to the present law, which bars the incumbents' re-election.

Last Sunday, instead of formally tabling his original proposal in the cabinet, Dr. Burg offered a new variant of it, which makes a mockery of the reform idea. The suggestion now is to allow the two chief rabbis to simply continue serving in their respective posts until they reach the age of 75. A more perfect example of legislation tailored directly to personal, and indirectly to party, needs could hardly be imagined.

The cabinet would not buy this NRP recipe. True to form, however, it merely decided to put off the rabbinical elections, due to be held on March 15, for a year. Had this been the price of genuine reform it might perhaps have been worth it. But in the circumstances it is merely a convenient escape from a decision of principle.

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The Friday Dry Bones



MONDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1983

Defying the commission

THE CABINET yesterday took the defence portfolio away from Ariel Sharon and handed it to Premier Begin. But Mr. Sharon is to remain in the cabinet as minister without portfolio, though apparently with some of the duties of the defence minister. This is supposed to be in conformity with the Kahan Commission's recommendations. Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir for one believes that it is. We think he is dead wrong.

Perhaps the Kahan Commission erred in its resort to circumlocution where a more straightforward phrasing would have prevented any possible confusion.

In suggesting that Mr. Sharon "draw the appropriate personal conclusions arising out of the defects revealed with regard to the manner in which he discharged the duties of his office" the commission was using a common Hebrew expression the meaning of which is resignation. That resignation had to be from the cabinet itself, because there is under the law no resignation simply from a cabinet portfolio.

The commission's purpose is doubly clear from its reference to the alternative course of action open to Mr. Begin in the event that Mr. Sharon should fail to "draw the appropriate personal conclusions": the minister's removal from office under Section 21 of Basic Law: the Government. Removal from office under this section means removal from the cabinet, and not reassignment to another post, as under Section 17.

True, the commission did not issue any orders to the premier to act in that way. Picking its way carefully through a constitutional thicket, the commission merely proposed that the premier "consider whether he should exercise his authority" in that fashion. It might be argued — although wrongly, in our opinion — that this leaves the premier free to consider the recommendation, and then reject it. But it certainly does not leave him free to claim that he is implementing the recommendation, when in fact he is subverting it.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1983

Departure with dignity

ECLIPSED by more dramatic developments last week was the order of the day to the troops issued by Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan in response to the cabinet's adoption of the Kahan Commission's report. It was a document of great dignity, reaffirming the nation's democratic structure and commitment to moral values.

The Kahan Commission left little doubt that it would have recommended the chief of staff's dismissal, the same as Mr. Sharon's, were it not for the fact that Rav-Aluf Eitan's term was in any case coming to an end within two months.

Rav-Aluf Eitan's failure to consider the danger of possible acts of vengeance and bloodshed by the Phalanges at Sabra and Shatilla, and to take appropriate steps to avoid the danger, amounted, in the commission's view, to a breach of duty.

It is very likely that, despite the commission's findings and recommendations, the chief of staff, like the departing minister of defence, did not feel a "beaten man." But the country's top soldier had the good sense to keep his feelings to himself. "The military echelon," he said, "will carry out the decisions of the government, as is customary in a functioning democracy. The Israel Defence Forces will learn the lessons of the inquiry commission's findings."

While praising the army's performance in the Lebanon war, particularly the "moral

WEDNESDAY, FEB. 16, 1983

New style

A STALWART figure of the Likud regime, the new defence minister, Moshe Arens is anything but a "dove" compared to Mr. Sharon. On the Camp David accords he proved to be more of a "hawk": while Mr. Sharon, then agriculture minister, favoured withdrawal from the Rafiah Salient as the price of peace with Egypt, Mr. Arens, then chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, did not. For that reason, too, he turned down an earlier offer by Mr. Begin to take over at Defence.

As minister of defence Mr. Arens will be no less eager than his predecessor to push for the incorporation of Judea, Samaria and Gaza into Israel, for the establishment of maximally favourable conditions of security for Israel in Lebanon, and for the strengthening of Israel's armed might. Any expectation in Washington that Jerusalem's stand on such issues as the withdrawal from Lebanon will become more flexible following the change of guard at Defence is entirely premature.

On the other hand it is likely that the tenor of American-Israeli relations will be improved by Mr. Arens' assumption of office. From now on, the defence minister will no longer be going out of his way to alienate friends and make enemies in the pursuit of chimerical alliances. Instead, Mr. Arens will practise the arts of diplomatic persuasion in which he has shown himself to be a fine student while in Washington.

To the extent that it was the manner of Mr. Sharon's conduct of official policy that hobbled efforts towards a strategic understanding between Jerusalem and Washington, the elevation of Mr. Arens to the cabinet must be treated as a godsend.